

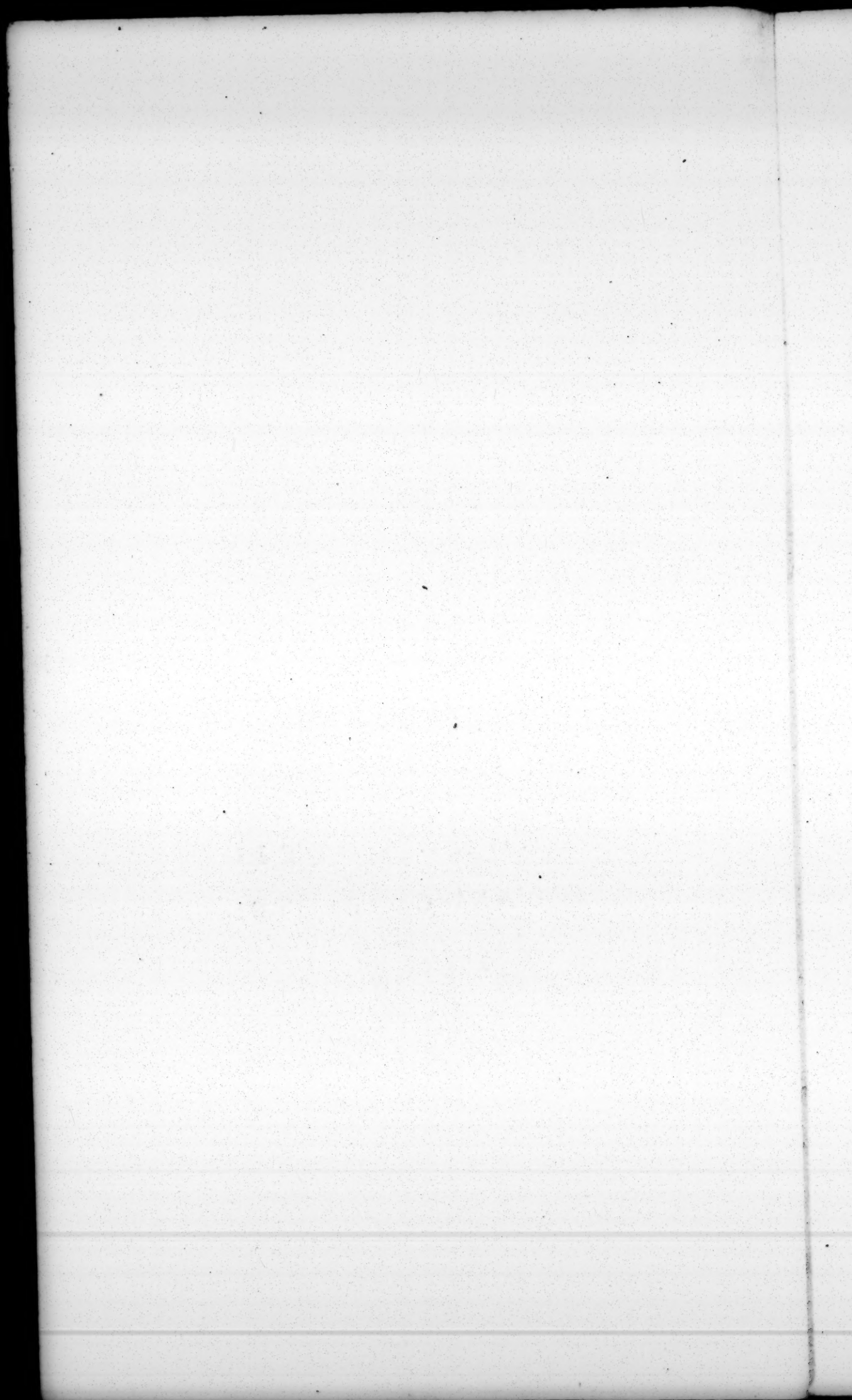
T H E
EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE,
VISITATION CHARGES,
SPEECHES, AND MISCELLANIES,
OF THE RIGHT REVEREND
FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D. D.
LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.
WITH HISTORICAL NOTES BY J. NICHOLS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION,
REVISED AND CORRECTED.

1790.

V O L U M E IV.



THE
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
BISHOP ATTERBURY.
WITH
HISTORICAL NOTES BY J. NICHOLS.
VOLUME IV.

“How pleasing ATTERBURY’s softer hour!

“How shin’d the soul, unconquer’d in the Tower!” POPE.



L O N D O N.
PRINTED FOR AND BY THE EDITOR,
MDCCXC.



CONTENTS

O F

THE FOURTH VOLUME.

1. A School Exercise at Westminster.	—	p. 1
2. A Preface to 'Ανθολογία, seu Selecta quædam Poematum Italorum qui Latinè scripserunt, 1684.	— — —	5
3. An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation at Oxford, 1687.		12
4. Préface to the Second Part of Waller's Poems, 1690.	— — —	99
5. Character of Lady Cutts, 1697-8.	-	107
6. A Farewell Address to the Inhabitants of St. Bride's Parish, 1690.	—	124
7. The Power of the Lower House to adjourn itself, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of a late Paper, intituled, A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings of the present Convocation, 1701.	— —	130
	a	8. Speech

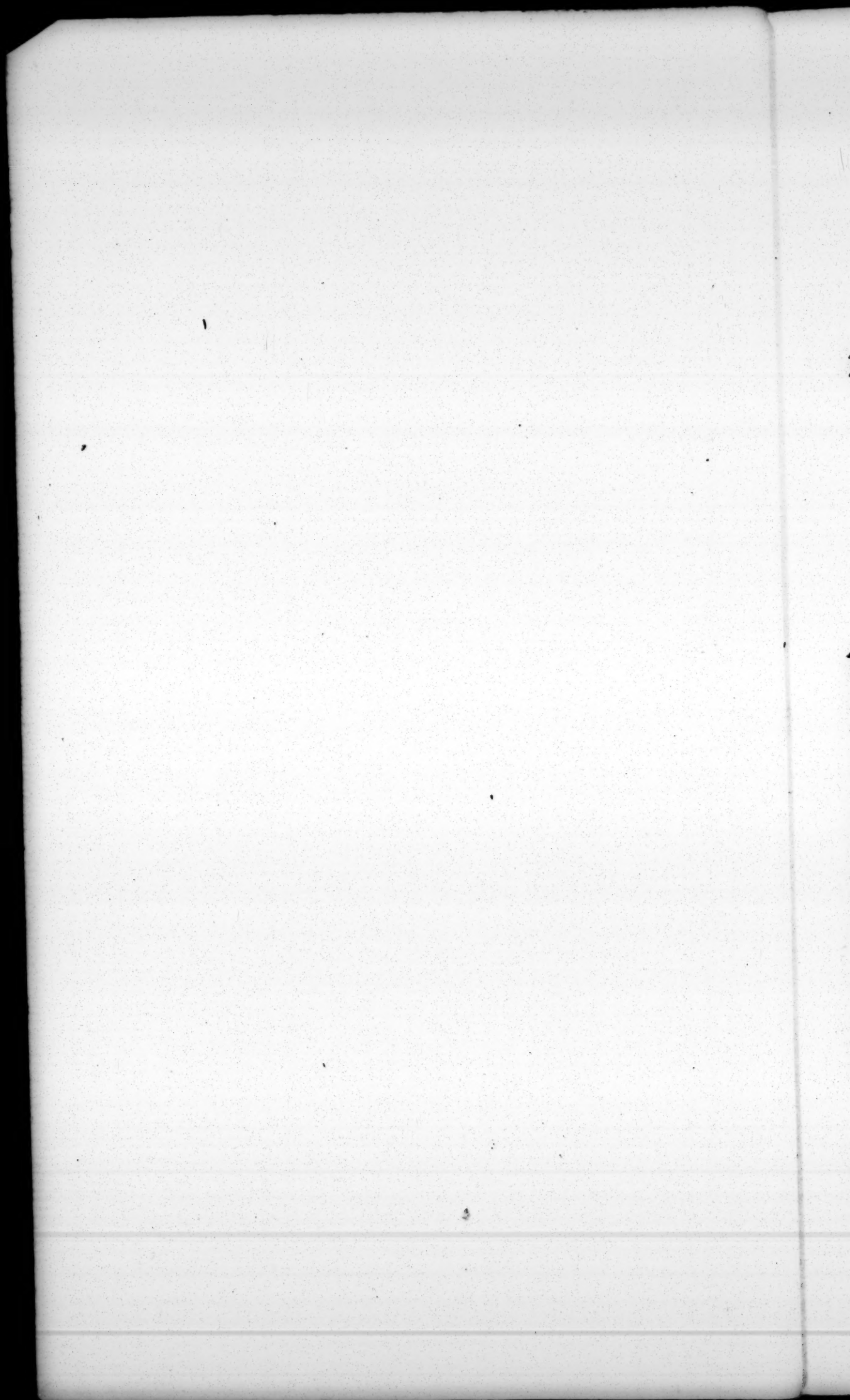
- | | | |
|--|-------|--------|
| 8. Speech to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totness, 1702. | — | p. 207 |
| 9. A Second Speech at Totness, 1703. | | 215 |
| 10. Character of Mr. Thomas Bennet the Book-feller. | — — | 223 |
| 11. A Discourse on Rural Deans, in a Charge to the Archdeaconry of Totness, 1708. | | 225 |
| 12. Reflections on a late scandalous Report about the Repeal of the Test Act, 1708. | | 245 |
| 13. Speech of Dr. Sacheverell, on his Impeachment before the House of Lords in Westminster Hall, March 7, 1709-10. | | 255 |
| 14. Address to the Queen, from the Bishop of Exeter, the Canons and other Dignitaries of St. Peter's, and the Clergy of the City of Exeter and Parts adjacent, in September, 1710. | — — — | 288 |
| 15. Dr. Smalridge's Speech to the Upper House of Convocation, when he presented Dr. Atterbury as Prolocutor, Nov. 25, 1710. | — — | 291 |
| 16. Dr. Atterbury's Speech on his Election to the Office of Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, Nov. 25, 1710. | | 298 |
| 17. Message from the Lower House of Convocation to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Feb. 28, 1710-11. | | 304 |
| 18. Representation of the State of Religion; drawn up by a joint Committee of both Houses of Convocation in March, 1710-11. | | 307 |
| 19. Dr. | | |

C O N T E N T S.

vii

19. Dr. Atterbury's Speech at Oxford, on the Day of his Admission to the Deanry of Christ Church, 1711.	— —	p. 331
20. Speech of Dr. Atterbury, as Dean of Christ Church, Jan. 2, 1711-12, when he presented the Lord Harley, in the Convocation at Oxford, to the degree of Master of Arts, as an honorary Favour from the University.		337
21. Bp. Atterbury's Visitation Speech to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rochester, May, 1716.	— —	339
22. Bp. Smalridge's Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Bristol, at his Primary Visitation, 1716.	— —	532
23. Archdeacon Bentley's Speech to the Clergy of Ely, at his Visitation, held at Cambridge, Dec. 13, 1716.	— —	376
24. Extract from a Speech of Lord Lansdowne, against the Occasional Conformity Bill, Dec. 19, 1718.	— —	381
25. Bp. Atterbury's Speech in the House of Lords, May 11, 1723.	—	33
26. Serjeant Wynne's Observations on the Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors.		440
27. Specimen of Bp. Atterbury's Remarks on Dacier's Horace.	— —	448
28. Illustrations of the Fourth Volume.	—	461

A T T E R-



A T T E R B U R Y ' S

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

I.

Nescire vita jucundissima.*

NOVA res agitur, judices; stultitiæ jus quæ per tot secula primas obtinuit nunc demùm in dubium vocatur: mihi aures itaque præbete, quas fori circulatoribus, scurris, ac morionibus consuevistis arrigere, qualesquæ olim Midas ille noster exhibuit Pani. Ego beatos illos homunculos, quos alii fatuos, insulsos vocant, maximis in voluptatibus versari, & continuâ felicitatis ferie usos fore, arbitror, citràque stultitiæ condimentum nihil quidquam suave esse duco. Quæ enim vitæ pars est non inveniusta, non insipida, non molesta, nisi accesserit fatuitas: quid illud est in infantibus quod sic deosculamur, sic amplectimur, sic fovemus, nisi stultitiæ lenocinium? unde, quæso, ista juventæ gratia,

* Though this appears only to have been a school-exercise; yet, as Atterbury was deservedly famed for purity of classical taste, the Editor hopes for indulgence in submitting to the publick this single specimen of his early abilities.

nisi ex ineptiâ, cujus beneficio quam minimè sapit, atque ob id quam minimè ringitur? Cur senes festivissimos, comicos, facetosque appellamus, nisi quod delirent, & desipiant, nisi quod capillorum albor, os edentulum, & garrulitas æque illis, ac infantibus, stultitiæ signum exhibeat? Ineptiam autem imprimis gratam esse, & amabilem, ex hoc ipso facienda est conjectura, quod illam unâ omnes amplectantur, & colant; quod ei ipsi homines qui literatos se, & doctrina provectos profitentur, cæteris stultitiæ cultoribus præcellunt, eâ tantum causâ, quod doctiùs ineptiant. Poetarum enim omne studium non alio pertinet, quàm ad demulcendas stultorum aures, idque meris nugamentis, & ridiculis fabelis; tamen his freti, dictu mirum, ut, cum sibi immortalitatem & diis parem vitam polliceantur, tùm aliis eandem promittant. Dein dialectici & sophistæ hominum genus quovis ære Dodonæo loquacius de asini umbrâ rixari, de lanâ caprinâ pertinacissimè digladiari non dubitant, donec nimium altercando veritatem amittant. Sub hos prodeant philosophi, barbâ, pallioque verendi, qui se solos sapere prædicant, reliquosque omnes tanquam umbras volitare; hi cum neque fossam aliquoties, neque faxum obvium perspiciant, tamen idæas, quidditates & eccitantes videre se prædicant: res adeo tenues ut nemo eas perspicillo intueri, nedum oculis assequi, possit, nisi tam Lynceus, ut ea quoque per altissimas tenebras videat, quæ nusquam sunt: ingratum me hercle hominum genus, qui cum maxime nostræ factionis sint, tamen apud vulgum adeo cognominis nostri pudet, ut id passim aliis probri vice objiciant; qui dùm Sophi & Thales videri gestiunt, cum
revera

revera eorum unusquisque sapientum octavus fuerit, nonne jure optimo illos morosophos appellarem? Jam quid de proceribus aulicis memorem? qui abunde sibi *foelices* videntur, quòd regem tribus verbis salutare didicerint, quòd nòrint titulos subinde inculcare, serenitatem, dominationem, & magnificentiam. Quid plebeculam rudem ignavam dicam? eo grata & jucunda est ineptiæ fruitio, ut totus terrarum orbis stultitiæ templum esse videatur pulcherrimum; neque vero alicubi desunt *mystæ*, nisi ubi deficiunt homines. Estne quidquam *foelicius* aut *venustius* isto hominum genere quos vulgò *moriones*, *fatuos*, *insulfos* vocant; pulchris equidè, ut opinor, cognominibus.

Principiò vacant mortis metu, non mediocri malo, vacant conscientiæ carnificinâ, non expavescunt spectris ac lemuribus, non torquentur metu impendentium malorum, non spe futurorum bonorum distenduntur. Hic mihi jam expendas velim, stultissime sapiens, quot undique angoribus discrucietur animus tuus, congeras in unum acervum universa vita tuæ incommoda, atque ita demùm rectè subducta ratione intelliges, quantis è malis cultores suos stultitia subtraxerit. Adde huc, quòd non solùm ipsi perpetuò gaudent, ludunt, cantillant, rident, verum etiam cæteris omnibus, quocunque se verterint, voluptatem, jocum, cachinnum, lusumque afferant; velut in hoc ipsum à deorum indulgentiâ dati, ut humanæ vitæ tristitiam exhilararent? unde fit, ut, cùm aliis in alios varius sit affectus, hos omnes ex æquo tanquam suos agnoscant, pascant, foveant, succurrant si quid mali acciderit, et impune permittant, quidquid dixerint aut fecerint? Imo summis regibus adeo sunt

in deliciis, ut sine illis neque convivari neque ingredi possint. Maximè autem ad stultorum fœlicitatem conducit, quòd si forte homines invenustissimi fuerint, se tamen fœlicissimos esse arbitrantur. Age, si quis putribus vescatur salsamentis quorum alius nec odorem ferre possit, & tamen huic ambrosiam sapiant, quæso quid interest ad fœlicitatem? Si cui sit uxor egregiè deformis, quæ tamen marito vel cum ipsa Venere certare posse videtur, an non perinde fuerit ac si facie sit venustissimâ? aut nihil itaque interest inter hominem lautè, nitidèque viventem, ac fatuum, qui iis delectamentis se ingurgitari tantùm somniat, aut, si quid intersit, potior est stultorum conditio. Ita enim institutum est, ut fortuna sapientibus inimicissima cum fuerit, contrà stultis etiam dormientibus omnia commoda adduxerit. Finge jam mihi sapientiæ exemplar, hominem qui vitam totam in acquirendâ doctrinâ contriverit, & sibi perpetuis vigiliis, nocturnisque lucubrationibus adversam contraxit valetudinem; qui ubicunque loci se conferat, obstipo semper capite aliquid meditatur, & exporrecto labello, nescio quid nugarum mussitat, qui, sibi ipsi iniquus & durus cum sit, aliis gravis est & invisus; macieque tandem, non senio confectus, multo ante diem morte depaciscitur: quanquàm quid refert quando moriatur ejusmodi vir, qui nunquàm vixerit: habens egregiam illam sapientis imaginem. Rectè itaque à diis consultum est, ne malum id sapientia inter nos diutiùs serpat, ut, qui parentes doctissimos habuerit, ipse tamen fatuus, & ignarus fuerit; uti Ciceroni degenerem fuisse filium constat, & sapiens ille Socrates natos progenuit patri quam matri, similiores. Apud histriones, res factu difficillima, &
laude

laude dignissima esse ducitur, fatuos homunculos ad vivum personare; vos, jam ipsi conjicite quam ingens sit ipsius stultitiæ bonum, cujus etiam fallax umbra, & imitatio sola, tantam laudem à doctis mereatur. Ne itaque, Judices, palmam hanc stultitiæ surripiatis, quam uno ore omnes tribuerunt; stultitiæ, quam non solum fatui & ignari colunt, sed ii ipsi homines, qui illam vituperant, & despiciatui habent; quæ fortunæ adeo gratiosa cum fuerit, cur non & vestram benevolentiam conciliet, demiror. Quòd si nihilominus iniquè vosmet ipsos gerere perseveratis, tritum illud dictum recorder mini velim, stultitiam plerumque malè audire etiam apud stultissimos.

F. ATTERBURY.

II. Preface to “*Ἀνθολογία*, seu Selecta quædam Poemata Italorum qui Latinè scripserunt, 1684.”

“Dignos laude viros Musa vetat mori.” HOR.

BENEVOLO LECTORI.

LIBELLUS hic, qui tibi in manus offertur, erudite Lector, eorum præcipuè Poetarum præ se fert nomina; qui ingenii famà inter Italos, populares suos commendatissimi, apud exteras itidem Nationes etiam num inclarescunt. Comparatis siquidem, quot per amicos poteram, industriæ subsidiis; id mihi unicè erat propositum breviori spatio concludere, quæ publici juris facturus eram; nec eorum errore duci, qui temerè & infeliciter operam collocantes, ut copiam modo sequantur, delectui minus student. Atque ableganti adeò quæ sordida; recidenti quæ superflua; rejicienti quæ invenusta, ea demum placuit solummodo excerpere; quæ, absque tædio sollicitæ disquisitionis, in usum &

delicias forent Lect ri, suaviter ingenioso. Methode autem & ordine eo uti visum est; ut totum hoc, quodcunque est opusculi, in quatuor partes divisum, commodè abiolvi posset. Prima pars Eclogas complectitur; secunda est didascalicōn; tertia Odas continet; in ultimâ traduntur Poemata varii argumenti, quibus Sylvarum nomen indidimus*.

* The following curious note was communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Fly, from the hand writing of Walter Harte, prefixed to "Selecta Poemata Itatorum qui Latine scripserunt. Curâ CUJUSDAM ANONYMI Anno 1684 congesta, iterum in lucem data, una cum aliorum Itatorum operibus, accurante A. POPE. Londini, 1740," 2 vols 8vo.

"It is surprizing that Mr. Pope should be *silent* upon this point, when he told me, 14 years before the publication of this present edition, that the *Anonymu quidam* was Dr. ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester. Perhaps the Bishop did not chuse to acknowledge the slight amusements of his youth; or that others should ascertain the Author's name.

"W. H."

To authenticate this note †, it has been shewn to the Rev. Dr. Douglas, since Lord Bishop of Carlisle (to whom, and to Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Harte was tutor), who perfectly recollects the hand writing.—Dr. Johnson, in his "Life of Pope," says, "A small selection from the Italians who wrote in Latin had been published at London, about the latter end of the last century, by a man who concealed his name, but whom his Preface shews to have been qualified for his undertaking. This collection Pope amplified by more than half, and (1740) published it in two volumes, but injuriously omitted his predecessor's preface."

† Since the above note was first printed, the Editor has received the following remark from an anonymous correspondent: "What probability there is, that Atterbury, at that time a student at Christ-Church, Oxford, was the editor of the Collection, I leave to the reader to decide, when he is told from the title-page of the edition of 1684, that the book, though printed indeed at London, was at the expence of R. Green and F. Ibicks, Booksellers at Cambridge." In reply, it may be suggested, that the names of the Cambridge Booksellers might be used for the purpose of concealment; and that the positive assertion of Mr. Harte is in some little degree countenanced by a copy of the original work now in my possession, in which "Poemata Itatorum," as a direction to the binder for lettering the volume, occurs in a hand-writing which I verily believe to be Atterbury's.

J. N.

A San-

A Sannazario incipimus ; cui parem, apud Italos, in bucolicis ; aut proximè subsequenter invenire qui velit, frustra est. Nam adeò candidus, tener, simplex, venustus est ; ut nihil supra : et dignus sanè, si quis unquam, quem effusè adeò laudet Rapinus ; quem Scaliger, in carmine pastorali, ferè post Virgilium unicè legendum censeat. Baptistæ Amalthei Eclogas Alconem & Lycidam, superioribus duas adjunxi ; quæ licet minus perfectæ ; venustæ tamen, & puræ sunt, & mollior fluunt. Cæteri aut deliciarum sectatores, urbanitatem nimis exquisitè affectant ; aut, quod plerumque contingit intemperantiùs sibi indulgentibus, pueriliter ineptiunt ; & tractu excurrunt fusiori, quam ferat Eclogæ tenuitas & deducti carminis ratio. Quum igitur nec septem Eclogæ sufficerent ad libri complementum ; nec suppetere, de Italis, cum simplicitate satis elegantes ; quæ reliquis in societatem adsciscerentur ; aliundè quatuor accersere placuit, Buchanani scilicet duas ; Grotii, & Heinssii, utriusque singulas, sanè incomparabiles. Pastoritiæ quorum utique compositiones, apud omnes perelegantis ingenii viros, summam laudem adeptæ sunt ; molle illud & facetum, quod Virgilio Flaccus tribuit, tam mirificè ad vivum exprimendo.

In didascalicis occurrit primò Hieronymi Fracastorii Syphilis, sive Poema de morbo Gallico, scriptum ad Petrum Bembum Cardinalem : Cujus viri, longè eruditissimi, tantus emicuit splendor ; ut eum non dubitet Scaliger, aliis, ævi tam prioris, quam sui, omnibus anteferre ; proximumque divino suo Virgilio locare. Qui plus de Fracastorio scire velit, Scaligerum adeat in Hypercritico ; quem licet summi Poetæ donet nomine, in

nonnullis cum locis arguit, pro more suo, liberaliter. Hoc liberè affirmare possim; & castitate sermonis, & rerum ἐπιμνηστικῶν & conquistis appositè ad ornamenta fabulis & versuum ad exprimendos affectus efficaciam; Haftenus ei Italorum, quot scio, neotericos in universum principatu cessisse. Verum omnia hæc, superiùs recensita, ex iteratis denuò, per intervalla, lectionibus, facilius percipi, quam exprimi possunt. Marci Hieronymi Vidæ de bomicibus libri duo claudunt partem secundam. In quibus pauca sunt, quæ desideres; quod rejicias, nihil. Est enim in præceptis valdè accuratus (non ita tamen ut infra Poetæ dignitatem subsidat) & puritatis in Latinâ dictione retinentissimus. Certè in compositione Scacchiæ, quæ in Sylvis habetur, ingenium viri maximè elucet. Nusquam enim venâ fluit castigatiore, propiusque, ad Virgilii majestatem accedente: Numeri pleni, & rotundi; elatiores figuræ; & ubique translationum audaciâ feliciter insurgit oratio.

Superfunt reliquæ duæ partes; Odarum altera, & altera illa Sylvarum: de quibus aliqua, prout in utriusque iidem se exhibent authores, dicenda sunt conjunctim. Nam labor esset nimius, & legenti forsan ingratus, sigillatim omnia & minutè prosequi. Quod ad Odas Flaminii attinet, quarum hîc benè multas habemus, nihil esse potest, ut opinor, suavius; quod imprimis ii judicent, qui sapiunt Latinè. Catulli enim, ut mihi videtur, non tam imitator, quam æmulus propè dici meruit. Ingenii nitor & venustas, stylus candidus, numeri Catullianis minus horriduli, & cum suavitate ubique mira facilitas, sunt præcipuæ ejus virtutes; quæ & animum illecebris permulcent, & aurium judicio satisfaciunt. Ex iis, quæ
ad

ad necessarios scripsit, indolem viri perblandam, festivam, hilarem facilè agnoscas. Amores, Catulli, molitie, verecundiâ suâ, lufit. Sannazarius præter Eclogas, & Lyricis dedit operam, & tentavit Elegos, successu haud mediocri. In elegiâ, quæ ad amicam inscribitur; luculentus, mollis, tersus, tenerrimorum affectuum plenissimus, Ovidii certè Veneres, & Tibulli cultum expressit. Idem Epigramma nitidum, de admirabili urbe Venetiis, sex versibus conclusit. Et sunt qui eum ferunt à Senatu Veneto sexcentos aureos (pro versibus singulis centenos) honorarii muneris ergò tulisse. Pontaniquum laudaveris ingenium, negligentiam reprehendas; ea autem præcipuè selegi, in quibus sibi maximè temperavit, & modum tenuit. Naugerius Patricius Venetus ad Catulli imitationem totum se contulit; cujus virtutes in nonnullis affecutus est. Augurelli, Archiì, & Criniti Odæ tueantur se legentis iudicio, prout singulæ occurrunt. Areosto ingenii amœnitas gratiam conciliat. Strozze, pater & filius, poetæ minimè vulgares: Patre melior filius, ut Scaligero visum est. Cardinalis Bembus non solus excellentium virorum fautor; sed & ipse, in re poeticâ, inter cæteros multùm excelluit. Elegi ipsius duo, quos hîc habes, sunt purè, venustè, & amatoriè scripti. Jani itidem Hetrusci duo sunt consimili virtute spectabiles. In eo minimè ferendus, quod interdum Poeta fit lascivior, quam verecundo ori conveniat. Ipsius igitur luxuriam & petulantiam compescui; versibus aliquot è medio sublatis, qui turpitudinis notam preferrent. Quoad reliquos; molles illi quidem, & delicati; sed nihil tam pingue spirantes, quod aures, ut opinor, castissimæ cum fastidio respuant. Cæterùm utcunque se res

habet

habet apud severos æstimatorcs, Italogum ferè nullum paulò humaniorem, & insignioris notæ Poetam reperiās: cui non solenne sit Veneri, ut aiunt, litare, & in eroticis aliquantùm exerceri. Hendecasyllabæ Cottæ ad Lycorin, & Gerardi Vaxis ad Lesbiam, ita se in sensus intimos cum voluptate insinuant; ut nihil desideretur amplius ad perfectionem istius carminis, quod natum ad delicias videtur. Sunt & Fascitello suæ virtutes; sunt & suæ Parlistaneo; quibus uterque eorum apud ingenuas gratiam inire possunt. Sed ad majora transeundum est. Sadoletto Curtius suus eximii Poetæ nomen attulit; quod res in sublimi positas, illustri stilo, & numerorum rotunditate exæquans, nec de calore quid interdum remiserit; nec in tumorem excreverit. In verborum porrò luminibus, & sententiarum acrimoniâ frequens; pulchrum & concinnum opus ad finem usque perduxit. Politianus eo successu, quo vix alter quisquam eruditorum, humaniores literas excoluit: In solutâ autem oratione, quam ligatâ, longè scëlicior. Ingenio ad omnia ferebatur vivido vegetoque. Effusus tamen, & exultans, & Lucano quam Maroni similior, sententiarum ubique pompam studiose conquistavit; quas tractu numerorum plus æquo excurrentium productas aculeatis, ut plurimùm, finibus concludere voluit. Quod consilium rebus in medio dicendi genere positis, prout Rusticum ejus oportuit fuisse, haud ita bellè conveniet. At multa in eo venustè dicta reperiās, & digna quantivis pretii; quæ si Criticorum examini subjiciantur, in plerisque, se præbeant æstimanda. Per dimetros autem Iambos, in laudes puellæ suæ fusos, præcipitat se liber ille spiritus, & solutè spatiatur; ferente non solum, sed & poscente id carminis incitati

incitati genio. Fracastorius præreptos sibi filios immaturâ morte conquestus; orbitatis dolorem testatur, ut pium parentem decet, & Poetam optimum. Jam verò, ut aliquando desinere incipiam, de duobus excellentis ingenii viris, Castilioneum intelligo, & Hieronymum Amaltheum; quædam in præsentia dicenda sunt. Hujus Epigrammata (tria autem apposui) tersa, culta, lepida, argutè & strictim concluduntur. Ode ad Maximilianum Horatianis numeris scripta ferè ipsam antiquitatem provocat. Cujus ut materia illustris; ita ipsa excelsa spiritu provehitur, & nervis se magnificè sustentat: Ecclasi deinde factâ ad Orphei mentionem, tenerrimo numerorum vocumque flexu afficitur; animumque lenioribus permulcet, ut prius gravioribus extulerat, æquè in utrisque foeliciter. Balthasaris Castilionei Cleopatra, quæ hic ultimò habetur, magnum & illustre testimonium à Scaligero meruit: Dignum certè opusculum, quod ob incredibilem suavitatis gratiam, à politis omnibus in æterno honore habeatur.

At nimis fortasse in eorum judicio morati sumus. Tu mihi denuò officiosè compellendus es, amice Lector, & exorandus; ut perbenignè ac humaniter excipias, quæ dudum ex usu publico procurare cœperam. Singula percurras, excutias, evolvas; nec vilia, nec in triviis nata reperiēs. Quin eorum pleraque, suffragiis doctiorum comprobata, in universum placuerunt; atque etiam valdè placebunt.

III.

AN ANSWER TO SOME CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE SPIRIT OF MARTIN LUTHER AND
THE ORIGINAL OF THE REFORMATION *;
LATELY PRINTED AT OXFORD, 1687.

“The fierceness of man shall turn to thy praise, and the
“fierceness of them shalt thou refrain.” Pf. lxxxvi. 10.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN I first happened upon this Pamphlet, and, by some peculiar beauties in the style, easily discovered its owner, I was, I must confess, not a little surprized: I could not have imagined that a man of so big a reputation as the author of the “Guide in Controversy †,” one whose thoughts had for some years conversed with nothing less than Oecumenical Councils, Popes, and Patriarchs, should quit all those fine amusements for the humble task of life-writing, and drawing of characters. It was mean prey, I thought, for a bird of his pounces; and the design he did it with made it ten times more a riddle. The doctrines of the Reformation have, for near two centuries, kept the field against all encounterers: and does he think they may be foiled at last by two or three little remarks upon the life and actions of a single Reformer? But it looks like a jest,

* It was this vindication of the great Reformer that induced Bishop Burnet to rank the author among those eminent Divines who had distinguished themselves by their admirable defences of the Protestant Religion. The Imprimatur is dated July 29, 1687. An 8vo edition of it was printed in 1723.

† Obadiah Walker, Master of University College.

when

when the irregularities committed by Luther in Germany are turned upon us here in England; as if any thing that he said or did could affect a Church established upon its own bottom, and as independent on any foreign authorities as the Crown her Defender wears. Luther's voice is indeed to us, what our Author * terms it, "the voice of the stranger;" and though we are always ready to wipe off the unjust aspersions cast upon him by his enemies, yet this is what we are obliged to, not as sons, but as friends. Whenever injured Virtue is set upon, every honest man is concerned in the quarrel. But these last attacks have been so very feeble, that had we for once trusted the cause to its own strength, it would have suffered but little damage. And I for my part should have done so, did I not know there were a sort of men in the world, who have the vanity to think every thing on their side unanswerable that does not receive a set reply; though at the same time they are pleased to answer nothing themselves. They fight indeed all of them like Tartars; make a bold and furious onset, and, if that does not do, they retreat in disorder, and you never hear of them afterwards. And this, I expect, will be the present case. The Editor of these "Considerations" will not much care for replying, I believe; because that must be *de proprio*, and cannot be drawn from the old store of provisions laid in by the fraternity. But whether the poisons were of an earlier mixture, and designed, like Italian preparations, to work now at a distance, or whether lately tempered, is a thing we may safely be ignorant of; as long as we are secure of the

* Considerations, p. 2.

antidote, before they take their effect. And this the Theatre-prefs thinks herself engaged to promise: considering from whose munificence she had her birth, and especially to whom she owes her lustre; a late Prelate*, of a remarkable zeal for the Established Church; and who, were Religions to be tried by Lives, would have lived down the Pope, and the whole Consistory. If the services she does now are not of the most deserving character, it is what the meanness of the opposer and a worn-out cause will bear: she has already produced the strongest arguments against Popery — Fathers and Bibles. The present attempt is confined perfectly within the bounds of an Answer; and pretends to nothing more than a bare pursuit of the Author step by step; and the laying open his blunders, for the Reader's ease, just in the same order they lie. There was nothing frightful in this task, but the toil of being forced to think so long upon so very thoughtless a Writer: in all other respects it was as easy as one would wish. The History-part lay within a little room; and the reasonings upon it were so thin, that they needed only setting in the light to be looked through. In both, my greatest helps have been drawn from one single Author, the Considerer himself; who, in every book of his, has made it appear, that he can write contradictions, as well as believe them. This small performance had seen the light much sooner, but that it waited the edition of another piece which should regularly have prevented it. But the gentleman employed on that occasion having not yet had all the leisure he expected, it was thought fit rather to send

* Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, 1675—1686.

this abroad, out of its due place, than stay till every body had forgotten the book it answers: a misfortune which I fear it has already in a great measure undergone. In the Defence of our Reformation, to come, it will be found, that the Considerer is no good Historian; the Replyer has proved him no good Catholic; the Animadverter no good subject; and all together no good Disputant: so that I have now no new side of him left to entertain the reader with. What he is, after all this, nobody knows; it is much easier to guess what, under another Revolution, he will be.

A N S W E R T O S O M E
C O N S I D E R A T I O N S, &c.

MARTIN LUTHER'S life was a continual warfare; he was engaged against the united forces of the Papal world, and he stood the shock of them bravely both with courage and success. After his death, one would have expected that generous adversaries should have put up their pens, and quitted at least so much of the quarrel as was personal. But, on the contrary, when his doctrines grew too strong to be taken by his enemies, they persecuted his reputation; and by the venom of their tongues sufficiently convinced the world, that the religion they were of allowed not only Prayers for the dead, but even Curses too. Among the rest that have engaged in this unmanly design, our Author appears; not indeed after the blustering rate of
some

some of the party, but with a more calm and better disguised malice : he has charged his instrument of revenge with a sort of white powder, that does the same base action, though with less noise. It is cruel thus to interrupt the peace of the dead ; and Luther's spirit has reason to expostulate with this man, as once the spirit of Samuel did with Saul—"Why hast thou disquieted me, "to bring me up *?" He knows the sequel of the story : the answer that was given was no very pleasing one : it only afforded the enquirer an account of his own discomfiture. Let us see whether this disturber of Luther's ashes will have any better fortune †.

The first thing we are presented with, is a double character of the Good and Evil Spirit, set out by those works or properties which are said to attend each of them in Scripture. And by this test it is that Luther's Spirit is to be tried : "For so often as the teachers of "new and strange Doctrines come into the world, pro- "fessing opposition to those received by our present su- "periors, and to the common tenets of the Church, "Christians are directed by St. John, iv. 1. to try "such Spirits, whether they are of God. And we are "instructed by our Lord, Matth. vii. 16. that "they shall know and discern them by their

* Eccles. xlvi. 20. 1 Sam. xxviii. 15.

† "Ever since I knew what Popery was, I disliked it; "and the better I knew it, the more I opposed it. Thirty- "seven years ago I wrote in the defence of Martin Luther, the "great champion of the Reformation; and was perhaps the "only Divine, or member of this Church, that has defended "him, in a treatise expressly writ for that purpose, from the in- "fancy of the Reformation to this day."

ATTERBURY'S Speech, on his trial.
fruits.

fruits *. The inference from hence is, that Luther's doctrine should be tried by his works. Now, though we are very willing to stand to this test, yet nothing hitherto said can any way engage us to it: for here is a manifest violence offered to two places of Scripture; by leaving out the preceding verse in one, and the subsequent in the other, he has quite perverted the meaning of both. St. John says, "Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they be of God †." How shall we try them? the next verse instructs us. "Hereby know ye the spirit of God; every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God ‡." Nothing can be plainer than that the Apostle here would have new teachers proved, by the conformity their doctrine bore to that he had delivered. But this was not for our Author's purpose to observe; and therefore he dropped the latter part of the quotation, which would have expounded the former, and slipped over to St. Matthew's, "Ye shall know them by their fruits §." Whom? Consult the foregoing words. "Beware of false Prophets, which come to you in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves ||." The caution here given is against such as come "in sheeps cloathing;" that is, in all outward innocence and meekness (as our learned paraphrast expounds it ¶), ye shall know them by their fruits; not by

* Confid. p. 2. † John iv. 1. ‡ Ibid. ver. 2.

§ Matth. vii. 16. || Ibid. ver. 17.

¶ Nor is this merely a Protestant-exposition. Luca-Brunensis, upon the place, says, "Induti speciem ovium,"

by their well or ill-living sure, for they are supposed to put on the vizard of seeming sanctity; but “by the doctrines, which, as soon as they have got any authority with you, they will endeavour to infuse into you.” Thus are the two texts, which should be the basis of the whole discourse, proved directly contrary to the design of it, and naturally leading us to the examination of particular doctrines according to a received standard, the thing which our adversaries so studiously avoid. But Scripture-proof was never the talent of these men; and it is no wonder they are foiled, when they fight us at our own weapon. Yet, in these places, the sense offers itself so easily, and that shuffling way in which they are proposed looks so like a trick, that we cannot but question our Author’s sincerity; and shall therefore be the less concerned, when, in the progress of these Papers, we find him mangling and putting a wry sense upon our Protestant writers, since it is but what he has done to the inspired penmen themselves. But to drive this point further, whether works ought to be the adequate measure of doctrines? I say, not only that he has not proved it by any authorities drawn from Scripture, but that it is impossible he ever should; for Scripture cannot be against Scripture. Now we have frequent instances in Holy Writ, where God Almighty has made bad men the instruments and promoters of a good doctrine; such, indeed, whose actions were not

that is. “*mentientes oviam fraudisque nesciam simplicitatem.*” And Maldonate, much to my purpose, “*Sentus est facilis: vestimenta vocat quicquid extrinsecus apparet, verba et opera, eleemosynas, omniaque officia charitatis.*”

agree-

agreeable to what they taught : so Balaam was a diviner, yet " the Spirit of the Lord came upon him *," and he prophesied of the coming of Christ. Jehu, though otherwise none of the holiest men, was yet employed by God in that grand reformation of his, when the whole land of Israel was over-run with Baalism. A case so parallel to this we are upon, that one would wonder it should never be taken notice of in the whole course of the pamphlet, did we not know some men's talent lay in dissembling things, when speaking out will not be for their turn. I ask him again, if the Jews should have contrasted thus with Hosea, that his message could not come from God, since his works were not answerable : he had taken a wife of whoredoms to him †, and loved another that was an adulteress ‡: Or should a Ninevite have disputed the mission of Jonas, because he was a wicked person, and had been thrown into the sea to appease a tempest, would this kind of plea have held against the Prophets ? if not, why is it urged against Luther ? Or why are Scripture maxims put upon us, without taking notice of Scripture examples, that lie cross them ? He has not offered any thing from the Fathers upon this occasion, and therefore we may take it for granted they are ours. Indeed, to instance in no more, St. Austin §

* Numb. xxiv. 2.

† Hof. i. 2.

‡ Hof. iii. 2.

§ " Ne obijciatis hæreticis, nisi quia non sunt Catholici :
" ne similes iis sitis, qui non habendo quod in causa suæ divi-
" sionis defendant, non nisi hominum crimina colligere af-
" fectant ; et ea ipsa plura falsissimè jactant, ut quia ipsam
" divinæ Scripturæ veritatem criminari et obscurare non
" possunt, homines per quos prædicatur adducant in odium,
" de quibus et fingere quicquid in mentem venerit possunt."
August. Ep. 137.

is exprefs upon the point. Nay, the greateft of their own party, even the two pillars of the Romifh faith, Bellarmin * and Baronius †, are in this cafe as much Proteftants as we are. But he himfelf has given up the caufe, p. 98. He there in broad words confeffes, that “ a teacher of truth may bring forth the fruits of a bad life.” And, if fo, I would ask him, why he writ his book?

And here the bufinefs feems to be at an end: for if no proof has been brought, why a good doctrine fhould always require good outward works to fupport it, and yet it be the whole drift of the pamphlet to bring Luther’s preaching to fuch a scrutiny, it is all built on a falfe foundation, and, when that is weakened, muft drop of courfe. But, becaufe we are pretty well affured of Luther’s morals too, we will be fo obliging as to give up what has been already faid, and put the caufe upon that iffue: though his life does not in the leaft concern the Church of England. In order to this, let us take the prefcribed method, and “ put ourfelves in the fame pofture now, as we fhould have been in, had we lived at the firft appearance of Luther ‡.” And fince the properties of the evil fpirit are reducible to two; 1. Flefhly lufts. 2. Contention and difobedience (as one,

* “ Certum eft ex ipforum hominum, qui nos docent, operibus, non poffe cognofci doctrinam, cum opera interna non videantur, externa autem fint communia utrifque, &c.” Bellarmin. de Grat. et Lib. Arb. l. 5. c. 10.

† “ Ignarum vulgus dum non ex facris literis, quas ignorat, fed ex vitæ exemplo definire folet Catholica dogmata.” Baron. Annal. Tom. VII. An. 526. n. 58.

‡ Confid. p. 2.

whose

whose knowledge in this case we shall not question, has informed us); let us see whether, after our most impartial researches, we in those circumstances could have fixed either of these blots upon him.

1. As to fleshly lusts, there is no one action through the whole course of Luther's life, that can possibly come under that character, but only his match with Bora. Now this happened not till 1525, and in 1517 Luther had begun to reform; so that, should I put myself into that posture the Considerer desires, yet here would be nothing for my observation to lay hold of for above eight years together. Fleshly lusts, therefore, could have given me no prejudice against Luther's doctrine when it first appeared, since his very adversaries do not, till long after that time, charge them upon him*. Yes, but we are told that he preached against the vow of continence long before he married. Now, though it be something improper to call preaching an act of fleshly lust, and give me that to try his doctrine by which is indeed a piece of the doctrine itself; yet neither did Luther let fall a syllable against these vows for several years after his first setting out; so that, had I lived in the dawn of the Reformation, and made all those observations I am desired to do, I can as yet see no reason why I should not have been Luther's proselyte. And thus much will serve to free Luther from incontinence, as far as the method proposed reaches: the breach of vow, and marriage itself, shall be more largely discoursed of in their proper places.

* Pag. 20.

2. The other head of the charge is contention and disobedience. And here again I am invited to consider, whether Luther was not in an high manner guilty of these? and, if so, whether a wise man that had lived in those days could have had any reason to follow so unruly a guide? Now the question here is not whether Luther disobeyed? for that is confessed; but when and in what manner he did it: for if upon enquiry it be found, that for near three years together he treated his adversaries with all mildness, and paid a just deference to his superiors; if he threw not off their authority while there was any hope left of doing things in a regular way, and mingled no gall in his expressions till after all the venomous mouths in Europe had been opened upon him, how can he with any colour of reason be termed contentious or disobedient? And that this was his case, any impartial man that reads the joint accounts of Sleidan, Soave, Melancthon, and Melchior Adamus, must needs acknowledge. It is a known story that he first stood up against the gross abuse of pecuniary pardons: he proposed his sentiments about it in a mild scholastic way, and invited all that should think themselves strong enough to a fair disputation. This challenge was not thought fit to be accepted of; but Thecel, the spreader of the pardons, answered him an easier way, by branding him with heresy, and denouncing anathemas against him from all the pulpits in Saxony *. This did not heat him; he went on calmly, representing the case in a letter to the

* Melchior Adamus, Vit. Luth.

Archbishop of Mentz*; and afterwards in two more to the Bishop of Brandenburg, in whose dioceses the scene lay: all written with so deep an humility, that one would say, the impressions he took from his vow of obedience were then strong upon him†. “I am well content,” says he, “I had rather obey, than even, if I could, to do miracles‡.” This submissive way of representing things he continued afterwards in several letters to the Pope, though he knew Leo had formed a design against his life§, and taken friar Hogoftrat’s advice, to confute his doctrine by fire and faggot||. Upon the Legate’s summons, he submitted himself to an examination, and appeared before him; and though Cajetan used him very coarsely in the conference¶, yet no unbecoming word came from him**. At last, when for a long time he had employed all the most inoffensive methods; and, instead of the redress he expected from Rome, found his books burnt there, himself condemned without an hearing, and his adversaries, Eckius and Prierias, supported in all the ribaldry of language that their passions could suggest; he then, and not till then, first changed his note, and put on a greater freedom of expression. Before this time, he strove with no man but in the spirit of meekness, and threw off no authorities that he had

* It begins thus: “Pardon me, reverend in Christ, if I, the meanest of men, have the boldness to approach your highness with a letter, &c.” Luth. Op. T. I. p. 92.

† Tom. I. Op. p. 99. edit. Wittenb. 1582.

‡ Melch. Ad Vit. Luth.

§ Sleid. Com. L. II. ad An. 1519.

|| Soave, p. 2. Ed. Lond. 1620.

¶ Idem, p. 8.

** See the account of this conference in I. Tom. Op.

engaged himself to obey *. But the Pope had now declared his judgment by a fresh Bull, and owned the cause; so he was forced to decline his censure, and appeal to a Council. Thus are the earliest actions of Luther in no wise chargeable with contumacy; and, I believe, that part of the first volume of his works, which contains whatever he wrote in his two leading years, will, though sifted by an enemy, hardly afford, throughout, one single indecency.

I might here again very justly drop this Answer; for since the drift of his book is already evacuated, what need I pursue him through all its particulars? He advised me, to “put myself in the same posture I should have been in had I lived at Luther’s first appearance †.” I have done so, and find that this first appearance of his has nothing hideous or frightful in it: the posture he put me in has proved flatly against his design; for it represents Luther under the image of an holy and humble person, with nothing of fleshly lust or disobedience about him. But, because I find the bulk of his book employed upon the latter passages of Luther’s life, I am tempted to think, that by “first appearance” he might mean “last appearance;” and shall therefore (after I have desired him to consider to what trouble his odd way of expression has put me) follow him even in that sense too; confronting his accusations paragraph by

* Hear an enemy confess it. “In ipsis hujus tragœdiæ
“initiis visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus et
“eruditis non pessimo zelo moveri, planeque nihil spectare
“aliud quam ecclesiæ Reformationem.” Surius, Comment.
ad Ann. 1517.

† Confid. p. 2.

paragraph, as they lie in order: and, perhaps, by that time this is done, it will appear that he meant neither first nor last appearance; but just nothing at all.

The thing promised was, to set out some of Luther's works or fruits, that by them we might pass sentence upon his doctrines: let us see how he performs. He entertains us first with a preamble about the holiness of Martin Luther's life, while a monk; in such obliging terms, that for a page or two you would think him on our side; but it is only a piece of his address, a small civility before he opens his business: in return to it, therefore, I am his humble servant, and so (if he pleases) we will come to the point.

We find him then, §. 3. and 6. crying *εὐρηκα*. He has "discovered the main root of the Reformation:" the first wheel, it seems, which set all the rest a-work, was a new doctrine that Martin, while a monk, embraced, of "justification by faith alone." Now it will be found, I believe, when this is looked into, that he has discovered just nothing but the depth of his own understanding: for,

1. I would ask him, whether this new doctrine of justification be one of those works which Luther's faith is to be tried by? If not, why are we amused with it here for a dozen pages together? Was he serious when he proposed a method, which he quits now the first step he advances? But admit the pertinence of the remark, I am sure we have a great deal of reason to question the truth of it: for though we are not at all concerned where Luther first took up this opinion, yet,

2dly,

2dly, How is it proved, that he “embraced it while in the monastery?” Why, by express assertions of this doctrine, in treatises of his, written ten years after he came out of it. A fine discovery indeed! and every way befitting a man of my Author’s sagacity! Now should I turn this way of reasoning upon him, and prove, from what he now writes, he must needs have been a Papist twenty years ago, he would not, I believe, admit the argument, because there is a scurvy inference hanging at the tail of it. Nay,

3dly, He is so far from fixing the time when this new doctrine was first hatched, that he has not proved the doctrine itself to be new; though he attempts it, § 6. by citing a decision of the Council of Trent, together with Bellarmine and Cassander’s authorities. But I would have him remember, that the epocha of that doctrine, he calls new, does, by his own account, run at least thirty years higher than the oldest of these; so that Luther is brought-in guilty of Novellism, as Strafford was of treason, by a law made after the fact was done. Now to urge the supposed perpetuity of their faith for the validity of this instance, is to urge a thing which Protestants deny; and therefore any argument, grounded upon that maxim, can be nothing but a childish *petitio principii*, a fault which his own logic whips him for. Should I insist upon every failure of this nature, I must write volumes, for there is never a step made without a stumble. It will be more material to observe, that,

4thly, He has not dealt fairly with Luther’s doctrine in this point*; insinuating all along that it falls-in with

* See § 7.

the Solifidian and Fiduciary errors; but he wrongs him infinitely, for an hundred instances might be brought from his writings, where the necessity of good works in order to salvation is displayed. But, instead of that, I shall leave him to be confuted by Bellarmin's confession *, or, if he will not take his word, by his own, p. 16. where he allows "Luther's faith to be such as, when true, has always good works joined with it." Luther teaches indeed that *fides sola justificat*, but not *solitaria*; that faith alone justifies, but not the faith that is alone: good works are inseparable attendants upon this justifying faith, but they contribute nothing to the act of justification; they make not just, but are always with them that are made so. This is Luther's, was the Church of Rome's †, and is now the Church of England's doctrine: if he will be pleased to attack it as such, it shall not want a defender. As to his quotations on this occasion, they are (as at other times) very trifling. To pursue every particular of them, would be nauseous and unnecessary: one general remark, that I shall leave with the Reader, will lead him into the sense of them all. Luther wrote against a sort of men that held good works to be meritorious, and relied on them, as of themselves satisfactory, without a particular application of faith. This was the doctrine (or at least the practice) of the cloister; and this Luther through all his writings encounters; so that where ever he puts a slight upon good

* "Lutherus docet aliquo modo necessaria esse bona opera, cum affirmet veram fidem non esse, quæ non parit bona opera." De Justif. l. IV. c. 1.

† Vide Tho. Aqu. Lect. lV. in Gal. iii.

works, it is as they stand distinct from faith, under the notion that superstitious zeal had then cloathed them with *. I will not say that in the prosecution of this he never went awry; he did so in reviving that doubt, which was some time in the primitive church, of St. James's Epistle being canonical, because he thought it ran counter to St. Paul; but he withdrew this plea of his, when better informed; if quoting from it afterwards, as from Scripture, he owning its authority. It is plain his followers think so; the most rigid of whom, and who in every punctilio would be thought like Luther, do yet retain this Epistle in the Canon. Indeed in the first edition of his German Bible he calls it *stramina*; not absolutely, but in comparison with those of St. Paul. But in all the editions after 1526 it is left out; and the *arida*, the pamphlet talks of, is in none of them at all. The objection drawn from his calling St. Paul Evangelist in preference to Matthew, Mark, and Luke, is ridiculous, for he there tells you what he means by Evangelists, viz. such as preach "the glad tidings of that comfortable doctrine (as our Articles term it) of justification by faith alone:" and in this sense he

* Thus, when he had said, "Contritio quæ paratur per "discussionem, collectionem, et detestationem peccati, &c. "facit hypocritam," Assert. Art. 6. he expounds himself afterwards, by telling you, that the contrition he is talking of is "naturalis, impia et extra fidem." When he tells you (Assert. Art. 11.), "Credo fortiter te absolutum, et absolutus "verè eris quicquid sit de contritione," what is meant by these last words is not, "whether you are contrite or no," as his sly interpreter has it, but "without respect to your contrition;" that is, the contrition you so much rely upon, as the article itself, when propounded entire, and the paraphrase upon it, sufficiently evidence: and so of the rest.

says,

says, "you may more properly say the Gospel of St. Paul than of Matthew, &c." And what is there so heinous in this expression? It is low ebb sure with his accuser, when such peccadillos as these are put-in to swell the charge. But the grand article is to come. "Luther," he says, "was so strangely affected with this new invention" [he means justifying faith], "that he made bold much to prefer the Mahometan life as to good manners before the Christian." Now had Luther spoke up to this accusation, yet Chrysostom's example would have been his defence: for he says the very same thing in almost the same terms of the Christians in his time compared with the Pagans*. But Luther has indeed said no such thing. In the place cited, he compares Mahometans and Papists as to the austerities of living; but it is far from his principles to say all good life and practice consists in these strictnesses†. He only urges, that if it were so, then the one would lay as fair a claim to it as the other: for the proof of this, he vouches the testimony of a Papist, one used barbarously by them in a slavery of eleven years continuance; and who had therefore no great reason to favour them. The Considerer here gives him the lie, and says no such thing is to be found in that relation. I shall not return the compliment, but desire the Reader to look at the bottom‡ of this

* Chrysost. Op. Imp. in Matth. Hom. 49.

† "Christianæ religio longè aliud est, et sublimius aliquid, quam ceremoniarum speciosæ rasura, cucullus, pallor vultus, jeiunia, &c. canonice, et universa illa facies ecclesiæ Romanæ per orbem." Luth. Præf. in Tract. de Turcismo.

‡ Chap. the 14th of the Relation, I find these words:

"In

this page, and he will be pretty well satisfied of my Author's modesty. This innocent reflection gives occasion for one of the wildest inferences that ever was made. He is condemned immediately as preferring Turcism to Christianity, the Alcoran to the Bible, and Mahomet to Christ. With this false scent my Author runs away at full cry; proves manifestly to you, that the Christian Religion is the most holy of all Religions; and after he has heated his imagination to an high pitch of zeal, concludes with a *Deus tibi imperet*, the Lord rebuke thee! His fancy, it seems, has made a giant of a windmill, and he is now engaging it: I shall slip away in the mean time, and when he has spent his fury, meet him at the tenth paragraph.

For so far we must go, before any new matter offers itself. His reflections between are so very mean, that a bare recital confutes them. "Luther's doctrine," he says, "is since detested by many judicious Protestants*." If you ask him how he knew it, he will tell you, "Hammond and Thorndike wrote against the Solifidi-

"In ista specie religionis inveniant aliquid tantæ perfectionis, ut impassibiles fiat, ut nihil exterioris impressionis sentire valeant: nam in maximis frigoribus nudato corpore incendant, et non sentiunt. Isti suæ probationis rationes et veritatem ostendunt in variis stigmatibus combustionum, et cicatricibus incisionum, &c." A living witness, of good credit, has confirmed this account. He says, "the Turks have their monks, and those of different orders; the Dervises, the Kadri, the Nimituhali, the Edhemi, and twenty more. These live under as great austerities as Capuchins or Carmelites: they go bare-foot, use corporal penance, have frequent pilgrimages, and take some of them the three vows of continence, poverty, and obedience." Rycaut, Present State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 138, &c.

* § 7.

"ans;"

“ans ;” and Luther himself (one of those judicious Protestants) confessed, that some wrested what he taught to their own destruction. “It is a doctrine void of consolation *,” because some men think they have this faith, when they have it not, and so are betrayed into a fatal security. This is such stuff as no patience can digest. But “Luther pursued this notion so far, as to hold a parity of honour in all justified †.” He did so as to the act of justification itself, and so must all do that hold it gratuitous; but not as to the degrees of sanctification afterwards. The honour of Knighthood is the same in all upon whom the Prince confers it; but some Knights may live up to their characters better than others, and so possess a larger share in the Prince’s favour. What little amusements these are for so mighty a man in controversy to sport himself withal! He might e’en as well have employed his time (as the Author of a book of Education says some Princes have done) “in the frivolous and low delights of catching moles, baltering frogs, hunting mice with humble-bees, making lanterns, tinder-boxes, and such-like manufacture ‡.”

Come we now to the second branch of Luther’s accusation, his “vilifying religious vows, penance, &c. ||” Again I must ask him, is this a work to try the doctrine by, or rather a part of the doctrine that is to be tried? If works are to decide the goodness or badness of Luther’s cause, according to what was first proposed, why are these speculative points preposterously put upon us? But if our Author, in spite of his own design, is re-

* § 8.

† § 9.

‡ Educ. p. 13.

|| § 10.

solved to give us a list of his doctrines, with what colour of reason can that about Indulgences be slipped over? It was the main article that made the breach, as all their own writers confess; and does it not deserve a mention? But we deal with a man that understands very well the ordering of his scenes. This business of Indulgences is too gross to be touched upon, it would leave all impressions upon the Reader's mind; and therefore he passes it over just as Mezeray and the French writers do the battle of Cressy. It cannot be shewn so much as in profile, no light will make it look lovely. Here is a fair occasion given to supply the defects of my Author's story, and shew to what beastly uses Indulgences were then put, and upon how brave an occasion it was that Luther first appeared; but, because the whole voice of Germany in the Centum Gravamina*, and the Trent-Council itself †, has done it to my hands, it will be perhaps a needless trouble. I go on then to see what Luther has said in disparagement of "penance, vows, &c."

As to the first of these, "penance," and what falls under it in all that heap of quotations which he has piled up paragraph the tenth, nothing is aimed at but the superstitious and meritorious use of it; and this all Protestants as well as Luther decry. When he is pleased to urge any thing in its favour, it will be time to think of our reasons. In the mean while, he is resolved, I find, by such dry tedious accounts, to force his Reader upon the practice of penance, where he is not able to recommend

* Grav. 31.

† Sess. 25. Decret. de Indulg.

the doctrine of it. He hath a long passage out of the "Colloquia," where Luther deters men from solitariness; from indulging themselves in a strange affected retirement: he does not from a sober solitude, that rallies our scattered strengths, and prepares us against any new encounters from without; for this he both taught and practised. He has indeed said nothing there which St. Bernard did not say five hundred years ago of some who in pursuit of greater sanctity withdrew themselves into deserts: "such," says he, "are tempted by the devil, and in the end, by sad experience, find the truth of that saying: Woe unto him that is alone! for if he falleth, he hath none to help him *." But a shorter answer may be given to this and all other places taken from the "Colloquia Mensalia." It is a book not received yet into the canon by the learned. It depends purely on the credit of one Van-Sparr, that tells a blind story of his finding it in the ruins of an old house many years after Luther and Aurifaber, the pretended compiler, was dead; but should it be genuine, yet no fair adversary would urge loose table-talk against a man in controversy, and build serious inferences upon what perhaps was spoken but in jest.

Vows and celibacy are the next points he goes upon. The latter of these makes an entire treatise of itself, and is the task of another hand, to which I refer the Reader that desires a fuller satisfaction; and shall only make a reflection or two *en passant*. "Luther recom-

* "Dæmon ille meridianus cretum petere persuasit; et cognoverunt, &c." Rem. in Cant. Sermon. 33.

mended matrimony:*

 he did well, I hope, to follow so good a guide as St. Paul. Yes, but in the preference to Celibacy. Now this, I say, is a piece of my Author's mendacity; for in that very place that he has recourse to for the proof of this assertion, these words are plainly read: "Sicubi conjugium quis cum cœlibatu "conferat, præstantius certe donum est cœlibatus †." With what tolerable ingenuity could he pass this over unmentioned? Yet, in spite of Luther's declaration in the case, he will, it seems, prove the tenet upon him. He urges that place, where Luther says, that, "properly speaking, the state of the religious orders is "mundane, and that of matrimony spiritual ‡." He does so; but he says more too; for the very next words are, "De istis autem ordinibus & religiosis loquor, qui "eo nomine hætenus sese & nominari & jactari perpeffi "sunt." He affirms not absolutely that marriage is the more spiritual state, but in comparison with celibacy, as then practised in the church of Rome; where it was commonly forced§, taken up under a bold vow||, thought meritorious¶, and lead in all uncleanness**. And in this sense it was that he said, "Matrimonium

* § II. n. 2.

† Comm. in 1 Cor. vii. 6.

‡ § II. n. 6.

§ "Juventam passim in cœnobis ad cœlibatum cogunt." Luth. Exeg. in 1 Cor. i.

|| "Continentia donum est non nostri operis, nostrarumve virium, proinde nec ququam id vovere potest." Ibid.

¶ "Ex castitate meritum et jactantiam coram Deo et hominibus faciunt." Ibid.

** "Nullus statuum impudentior est, et ad libidinem promptior ecclesiastico et spirituali statu, ut hodiernus dies testatur." Ibid.

“velut esse aurum, spiritualement vero statum ut stercus :”
 for to the objection made immediately upon this,
 “What then must none live unmarried?” he answers,
 “I am now talking not of celibacy itself, but of the
 “spiritual state*” (as they term it), “two as different
 things as can well be imagined.” Again, when he ex-
 pounds that text urged for virginity (“It is good for a
 “man so to be†”), of conveniency in this life, not of
 spiritual good‡; it is in consent to his own principles,
 which allow no merit, no intrinsic worth, to accompany
 one state more than another. But then he owns this
 convenience may be employed to a very good use in re-
 spect of another life too §, as it affords us freer seasons of
 attending upon God and virtue. The state itself is not
 more holy than another; but it gives a larger scope to
 display the holiness we already have, and to procure
 what we have not. He invites all people in general to
 matrimony, because he thinks the “Qui potest capere,
 “capiat,” of our Saviour’s, implies || the gift of conti-
 nence to belong but to a few. But, where he meets
 these few, he breaks out into *Euges* and acclamations;
 and expresses himself in terms that might become the
 mouth of St. Hierome. “Those are high and noble
 “souls,” says he, “who by the grace of God have laid

* “Respondeo—De spiritali nunc statu loquor ad ma-
 “trimonium comparato, non de cælibatu. Cælibatus et
 “vera continentia aliud est ac spiritalis status.” Ibid.

† 1 Cor. vii. 26.

‡ § 11. n. 6.

§ “Mallet apostolus cuivis eximium continentie donum
 “concessum esse, ut anxie matrimonii expers curæ et mi-
 “seriæ, soli Deo et verbo ejus libere totis viribus incum-
 “beret.” Ibid.

|| Ibid.

“such a chain upon their passions, as, though supplied
 “by nature with all bodily vigour, can yet willingly ab-
 “stain*.” Thus, after all the little flights and cavils of
 the Considerer, it is plain that Luther’s expressions are
 just, and his thoughts every way regular upon the point.
 Though, should he have indulged himself in a flight or
 two beyond strict truth in praise of marriage, it had
 been no more than what some Fathers have been guilty
 of on the other side, as his very adversaries confess†.
 And a great deal must have been allowed to his natural
 warmth of temper, in this case, when it is considered
 what sort of church he engaged: a church, where mar-
 riage had by two Popes‡ been styled “unholy§, car-
 “nal||, and displeasing to God;” by two Saints¶,
 “filthy beastliness;” and by a Council** itself, “un-

* “Alti et prædivites spiritus sunt per gratiam Dei infræ-
 “nati, qui natura corporisque viribus ad rem in idonei non
 “sunt, et suapte tamen sponte cœlibes permanent.” Sermon
 de Matt. item Comm. in Ps. cxxviii. 3.

† Espencaus, L. III. de Cont. in c. 11. “Hieronymus
 “æquus sane parum esse videtur vel unis nuptiis.” Apolog.
 Tumult. p. 14. “Gregorio viro ut videtur plus satis,
 “μεμψόμενος.”

‡ Syricius et Innocent.

§ Innocent. Exup. Tolos. Episc. Ep. III. c. 1. Dist. 128.
 Proposuiisti. Vide Surium, tom. 1. p. 530.

|| Syricius, Pap. Decr. tom. 1. Conc. apud Surium,
 p. 495.

¶ St. Dunstan and St. Oswald. Vide Reg. Eccl. Wigorn.
 Bp. Hall, Honour of the Married Clergy, lib. III. § 10.

** Concil. Tolet. VIII. c. 5. “Quosdam sacerdotes aut
 “uxorum aut quarumcunque sceminarum immunda societate
 “excecrabili contagio turpari.” Modern examples might be
 alledged in good store. Even Bellarmin says: “Conjugiatus
 “hominem reddit totum carnalem et ineptum ad divina.”
 Lib. 1. de Cler. c. 18.

“clean

“clean abominable contagion.” I shall dismiss this point with a request to the Considerer, that he would do Luther at least this justice in citing him, as not to make him speak incongruously : “Christus ipse non consuluit,” says Luther ; “cælibatum,” my Author wisely puts in*. Now, unless he can prove *cælibatum* a man or a woman, this Latin will be much what the same with a solecism ; for nothing but men and women does *consulo* ever advise. But a piece of false grammar is easily pardoned, where we have so much false reason to deal with.

The discourse of vows (blended with that of celibacy in the pamphlet) has that art and address in it as to make Luther appear a Lampetian. But this is an unworthy design ; for any man, conversant in his works, must know, that he was not utterly against all vows †, but only for regulating the use of some. Hear him once for all thus speaking : “Ego sane non repugnaverim, si quis privatim arbitrio suo velit vovere, ne vota penitus contemnam aut damnem ‡.” The thing he blamed was, their being taken up absolutely, without any reserve of necessity : his maxim was, that absolute vows can be made only of such things as are wholly in our power then, when we vow ; and of this kind, he says §, all Scripture-vows were. Now, continence, he thinks, is a gift perfectly out of our reach,

* P. 21.

† Bellarmin, lib. II. de Mon. c. 15. owns it.

‡ Lib. de Vot. Monast.

§ “Nullum omnino in scripturis voti exemplum legimus, nisi in his rebus, quæ nobis jam antea datæ sunt aut subinde dabuntur (ut numer. 30. constat) ut de ædibus, agris castigatione, &c.” Exeg. in 1 Cor. vii.

and therefore does not lay within the compass of such a vow. The Considerer supposes otherwise, affirming, "this gift to be given to all those who use a just endeavour for it *." But we say, that the wisdom of the Holy Ghost would then never have prescribed marriage as a remedy for fornication; for what need of a remedy where there is no disease? We appeal to that text: "All men receive not this saying †;" and from thence urge, that a single life is not the talent of all men: and Maldonate allows us, that almost all the Interpreters (amongst whom he reckons three Fathers of the first magnitude) do so expound it ‡; though, with the modesty of a Jesuit, he says afterwards, that "nevertheless he is not of their opinion." To his three Fathers (Origen, Nazianzen, and Ambrose) we add two more, St. Hierome § and St. Austin ||; and are content to err, in the interpretation of a text, with almost all the Fathers on our side. But Luther sometimes "presumes upon the gift of continency, as when "the wife is sick, &c. ¶." Right! in such circumstances as took their rise from a lawful and warranted action he does; and there he thinks the divine veracity engaged to make good the promise of our being tempted no farther then we are able: not so, when the

* P. 21.

† Matth. ix. 11.

‡ "Sic fere omnes exponunt: quam interpretationem adduci non possum ut sequar." Maldon. in locum.

§ "Si omnes virgines esse possunt, nunquam et Dominus diceret [qui potest capere, capiat]; et Apostolus in suadendo "non trepidaret." Hier. adv. Jovin. lib. I. p. 412.

|| "Nunc rectissime dicitur [qui potest capere, capiat] qui "autem se non continet, nubat." Aug. de Adult. Conf. lib II. c. 2.

¶ § 11. n. 4.

necessity that lies upon us had its rise from something unlawful and unwarranted, such as he accounts vowed celibacy to be; which, he knew, under this indispensable restraint, was never taught nor practised by ancient Fathers; and he knew too the wild effects that had followed upon this restraint in latter times, when men allowed themselves all liberties that did not directly infringe their vow, and concubinage and simple fornication were almost expunged out of the list of sins. Damianus's letter to Nicholas the Ild, about the middle of the eleventh century, is an authentic record of the lewdnesses committed under the reign of celibacy: the grossest part of his confession was (as Baronius owns) suppressed by the Pope; yet, as it now stands, it would make a man think Sodom and Gomorrah were rebuilt again. Clemangis's complaints*, near three hundred years ago, are known things; and Erasmus's confession † is a standing testimony. Who is ignorant of the story of Petrus Aloysius, Paul the III's bastard? or of the Archbishop of Benevento's poetry? These were crying lewdnesses, yet not resented by the Popes then in the see: nay, the latter was thought fit to be honoured afterwards with the character of Nuncio to the Venetians. Yet the pamphlet is very warm with Luther, for "impiously accusing the religious of uncleanliness ‡." "And if it were so, how could he know it, that himself lived chaste ||?" The question is silly enough to answer itself. The matter of fact

* De Statu Eccl. p. 47. et inde.

† "Quam innumeri monachi sint publicè incesti et impudici, &c." Erasmi. Annot. in 1 Tim. iii. p. 533.

‡ § 11. n. 3.

|| § 11. n. 7.

has been already in part made out, and might yet farther be cleared by a cloud of witnesses. The beastliness upon record, committed in our English monasteries, are a sufficient sample of what was done in the rest. We have the "Prior of St. Andrew's Confession" among our rolls: we have an abstract of the "Breviarium Compertorium Monasteriis, anno 1538;" which if we do not more largely insist upon, it is our good-manners, that will not suffer us to talk of those sins, which their religion did not hinder them from acting. In such a time therefore as this, when the celibate was stained with these impurities, it was requisite to preach up the honour of the married state in the highest strains it would bear. Prudent zeal could contrive no better an expedient; and I see not how Luther's accuser can charge him on this account, as "encouraging the liberties of the flesh *," unless he first subscribe the lewd determination of Coster and the casuists, that says: "It is less sin for priests to fornicate than marry †." As for that expression, "si domina nolit, adveniat ancilla ‡," though it be indeed too light upon so serious an occasion, yet any man who consults the context will find nothing indecent at the bottom of it. Luther is making a decision upon St. Paul's rule of separating "only for a time." "Here," says he, "if the wife persists in an obstinate denial of the bed; 'opportunum est ut dicat maritus—si tu nolueris, alia volet; si uxor nolit, adveniat ancilla;' that is, she

* See § 3. 12.

† "Sacerdos si fornicetur, aut domi concubinam habeat, tametsi gravi sacrilegio se obstringat, gravius tamen peccat, si matrimonium contrahat." Coster, Ench. c. 15.

‡ § 11, n. 3.

shall be taken into her place, not as woman, but as wife, after divorce made from the other; for so the next words plainly speak: "*Ita tamen ut antea iterum*" "*et tertio uxorem admoneat, et coram aliis ejus etiam*" "*pertinaciam detegat, ut publice et ante conspectum*" "*ecclesiæ duritia ejus et agnoscatur et reprehendatur.*" "*Si tum renuat, repudia eam.*" He must first admonish her twice or thrice in public; and then, "*repu-*" "*dietur uxor, adveniat ancilla.*" I was willing to propose this passage entire, to take off the disguise which its quoter has put upon it. He has shuffled two ends of the sentences together, and by taking out the "*ita tamen,*" &c. in the middle, made it speak just as he would have it. That which gives distaste to the ear in it is a German bye-word; and such kind of things Luther, according to the humour of those times, pursues with some fondness: take it singly, and it carries an air of levity, I confess; but, in consort with the rest, you see, has a meaning quite different from what this Author would insinuate.

Thus far my Author has slipped his first design; not a letter of what has been yet said promoting any way the trial of Luther's spirit by the fruits of it. He begins now (after a parenthesis of twenty-five pages) to offer something that looks that way. "Luther's "*anticelibacy* stays not here," he says; "he shook off "*his vow, and married a nun* *." This we acknowledge to be a work, and we will prove it no bad one. Had he done it with the Pope's licence, his adversaries must have been silent, for that is a ruled case with the

school-men; and the King of Arragon's story is too known to be repeated. Yet these same school-men do not stretch the point so far as to say the Pope has an absolute, unlimited power over these vows. No; a solemn vow (such as Luther's was) is, they say, "de jure positivo ac naturali;" and that in this, therefore, the Pope cannot make a nullity, where there is none; but only declare it, where it is *. Now, if Luther's vow was of itself void, what need of a recourse to the Pope to have it declared so? It was made immediately to God, without any intervening obligation to his Holiness; and though the judgement of the Church be desirable to satisfy a scrupulous votary that he is released, yet if the votary be satisfied without this judgement, and his grounds be rational, he may act accordingly, without sin. Now Luther had several reasons to think his vow not binding. It was taken up without deliberation, or even consent. "Neque enim libens et cupiens fiebam monachus, sed à terrore et agone subitæ mortis vovi coactum ac necessarium votum †;" and against the express commands of his Father ‡, to whom obedience was, he knew, enjoined by Scripture, when continence

* "Papa non potest dispensare in voto solenni: quis enim potest dispensare in jure naturali et positivo? possunt quidem incidere causæ, in quibus Papa non quidem dispense, sed per interpretationem æqui et boni declaret eum qui voverat, non teneri voto." Maldon. Sum. q. 12. art. 7.

† Præf. ad lib. de Vot. Monast. This citation my Author has, p. 3. but mangled. He leaves out those first words, "neque enim libens et cupiens fiebam monachus, sed—" and then, in the end, "coactum ac necessarium votum." And yet, p. 63. when the expressions are for his purpose, he cites them all entire.

‡ "Te ignorante et invito id tentavi." Ibid.

was not *. So many flaws had this vow in its first conception; and as he had taken it up through disobedience, so it was laid down in compliance to that very authority it had defied; for so Melchior Adamus relates the story. But what need was there of doing this in the forty-second year of his age, "when" (in the homely phrase of the pamphlet) "the boilings of nature were now well assuaged?" But is the Considerer so well acquainted with Luther's crisis, as to be sure of that? Are fresh lustings a greater wonder after forty, than a new religion after three-score? If Luther did not then burn, how comes this act to be a fleshly lust with my Author? If he did, why is it questioned, when an Apostle has given his warrant for it? He himself, I own, gives another reason for his marriage: "The leaving his own doctrine confirmed by his own example †." But he does not give it as the only one; though, should he lay the whole stress of the case upon this principle, it would easily bear it. Men were then strangely possessed with the eternal obligation of a vow: when they grew uneasy under it, yet they looked on marriage with horror and detestation, and chose rather the methods God had forbid, than the remedies he had appointed. To rescue men's minds from the slavery of these notions, was Luther's design. He could no way so effectually recommend his doctrine, as by being himself the example of it. This motive, therefore, was sufficient to authorise what he did; since, according to

* Continentia non est mandata, obedientia vero est mandata." Ibid.

† Epist. ad Mich. Shifel.

St. Thomas * and St. Bernard's † rules, it is allowable to exchange a vow for any greater good that stands in competition with it. And the picking out Bora to match with, one who had formerly been a nun, was but making the precedent he was going to set more conspicuous, and an open declaration that the quarrel between him and Rome was irreconcilable.

Besides, it must be considered, that Luther did not by any particular solicitations invite Bora, either to leave her monastery, or to take up thoughts of marriage; she had done both of her own accord. Her veil she had thrown off above two years before her acquaintance with Luther; and went so far in these resolutions as almost to close with a match that was proffered her; but this breaking off, his offer was accepted. But Adamus says, "That Luther himself " afterwards regretted this action ‡." What is meant here by regretting, I do not understand: for Adamus says no more, than that he was concerned at the censures of some people about it. But the pamphlet, in the next words, will explain itself, where we are informed that " Melancthon too, by Luther's procurement, took a wife;" so that is plain now, that by

* " Qui vovet quodammodo sibi statuit legem, obligans se ad aliquid, quod est secundum se et in pluribus bonum: potest tamen accidere, quod in casu aliquo sit inutile, vel majoris boni impedimentum, quod est contra rationem ejus quod sub voto cadit; et ideo necesse est quod in tali casu determinetur votum non esse servandum." Aqu. 2. 2. qu. 88. 10.

† " Non arbitror Deum exigere à nobis quodcumque sibi promissum bonum, si pro eo aliquid melius fuerit absolutum." Bernard. Ep. 57.

‡ § 12.

regretting

regretting is meant approving: for certainly, if a man were disgusted at marriage, he would never recommend it to his friend. This I take, in the language of the book, "to be a sufficient autocatacrisy *." If the English Reader be startled at the word, he may be pleased to know that it is Greek for *a blunder*.

After these advances, "Luther wholly left off his "canonical hours †." An heinous accusation! Why, he had left off his monkhood too, and was no longer obliged to them. How could he have the leisure and retiredness of the cloister, to perform all those acts of devotion in, when the burden of the Reformation lay upon his shoulders? No; his active spirit was employed upon things more acceptable to God Almighty, because more useful to mankind. "He was wrestling against "principalities and powers, against the rulers of the "darkness of this world, and against spiritual wickedness in high places. To that end he took unto him "the whole armour of God, that he might be able to "withstand in the evil day; and having done all, to "stand. He stood therefore, having his loins girt "about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of "righteousness, and his feet shod with the preparation "of the gospel of peace: above all, taking the shield "of faith, wherewith he was able to quench all the "fiery darts of the wicked. And he took the helmet "of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is "the word of God: yet praying always with all prayer "and supplication in the spirit, and watching there- "unto with all perseverance, and supplication for all

* P. 10.

† § 13.

"faints;

“faints; and for himself, that utterance might be
 “given unto him, that he might open his mouth
 “boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel *.”
 I could not forbear setting down at full length this pa-
 noply of St. Paul, wherewith Luther completely
 armed himself in his spiritual warfare; and I do not
 know whether this description belongs so justly to any
 man as him, since the days of the Apostles. Should he,
 therefore, have laid aside his canonical hours, yet the
 work he was about sufficiently atoned for the omis-
 sion. But I had rather his accuser should vindicate
 him than I. You will find then, that though Luther
 has discharged these duties quite at the entrance of the
 paragraph; yet at the end of it you will be told, that
 “he never totally cast off this holy exercise.” So
 obligingly does this Author contradict himself, to spare
 the Replier’s pains: and this ease, I must acknowledge,
 he has more than once afforded me.

In the following account of Luther’s appearing be-
 fore the Legate in Germany †, I must desire him to
 rectify a mistake or two; for neither was Luther con-
 demned by Cajetan there, nor was Cajetan a modern
 prelate. “He descended to bitter reprehensions” (says
 Soave, Hist. Counc. Tr. p. 8.) “and base terms; and
 “concluded, that princes have long hands; and so bid
 “him be gone.” Here was no judicial process: all
 ended in a threatening; and this moderate prelate be-
 haved himself with such a rude zeal through the whole
 conference, that even his own party blamed the furi-

* Ephes. vi. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

† § 14.

ousness of it (Soave, *ibid.*). If Luther afterwards threw off the Pope's authority, it was not till he had tried all softer ways of redress, by letters, remonstrances, and the most submissive applications: it was not till a fresh bull of Leo's had declared how inflexible the Court of Rome was in the point of abuses; and not till Prierias had in downright terms told him: "*Indulgentiæ autoritate scripturæ non innotuere nobis, sed auctoritate ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ major est.*" The Pope now was become a party in the cause, and could not be relied upon for a decision: to a Council therefore he appealed: and if he afterwards revoked this plea too, it was because he found the expected Council was dwindling into a Conventicle; a packed assembly of Italian Bishops, not a free convention of Fathers from all quarters of the Christian world: so that to urge, upon this account, that he "denied the authority of the present church*," or "denied the present church to be a true one†," is, to say no worse of it, an unmerciful synecdoche; for by the present church here is meant no more than the Court of Rome and its dependants. But he is challenged of going much farther than this, even to "the denial of the visibibility of the Church for many ages:" upon what account? "Because he made this the only note of the true Church, that there the gospel be truly and sincerely preached." As if Luther, and with him a great train of learned Protestants, did not own that, in all that dark midnight of Popery, there were still some gleams of light, some witnesses

* § 15.

† § 16.

that arose to give testimony to the truth, and protest against innovations! I cannot but take notice, in my way, of a little artifice of the Considerer's; a knack he has of disguising a doctrine, when it lies a little too open, by putting a new name to it. Is it too bold to say the elements must be adored? They shall then only have a certain sort of a *cult* paid them*; so here the priest is said to *operate* the presence of the body and blood of Christ; which, in plain broad English, is neither more nor less than to make God; but that is too gross to go off, so a term is coined to make the conveyance easy.

As for the newness of Luther's opinions, and his marching alone against the doctrine of the primitive ages†, it is so beaten a point, that it deserves no other answer than that true jest of Scaliger's, "*Nos non sumus novatores, sed vos estis veteratores*;" and the Considerer, if he pleases, may apply it.

But it is ridiculous to say he denied the validity of the former Clergy's ordination‡; for that necessarily draws along with it the invalidity of his too. Yet he proceeded, we see, in the work of his ministry without expecting any new mission, and never thought himself obliged to a re-ordination. No; he was so far from this, that in the articles of Smalcald he owns orders conferred by a Popish bishop even then to be valid§: and in his letter about the Anabaptists, you will find him in twenty places owning, that the Church of Rome hath "the true faith, baptism, sacraments,

* See Discourse about the Eucharist,

† § 16.

‡ § 18.

§ Smalcald. art. 10.

" the

"the keys, the office of preaching, &c." Concessions that run as high as any the most charitable Protestants now make; so that that objection of the devil's, in Luther's book of the mass, must be counted a flourish only, and not a convincing argument: for though Luther gives his assent in general to the reasoning of that discourse, yet he does not say every particular of it amounted to a demonstration. As for his book, "*Ad-verius falso-nominatum ordinem Episcoporum*," and some harsh expressions about the prelates of his time, they must not be so understood as if he meant to unbishop them, but only to set out their corruption and degeneracy. Athanasius does not speak more softly of the Arian bishops in Constantius's Court. He says, they are "*καὶ ἁσκητοὶ, καὶ ἐπίσκοποι*;" and that, "if any of them has a mind to be consecrated, he is not told, that a bishop should be blameless, but only bid to rage against Christ, and never trouble himself about manners*." But these words must be allowed a latitude, and are not strictly to be taken as if the Father denied the validity of their consecration.

After the breach with the Pope †, it is owned, that Luther took the freedom of calling him "Antichrist," whenever he came in his way; but ere this can be made his crime, it must be proved that St. Paul has not called him so too; for otherwise we cannot but think that he has taken after a good pattern. If his spirit

* *Εἴ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπος θέλει γίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀκούει—ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτος εἶναι—ἀλλὰ μόνον—φρόνει κατὰ Χριστὸν, καὶ μὴ φρόντιζε περὶ τρόπον.* Athan. Ep. ad Solit. Vit. agentes, p. 812. edit. Paris. 1627. † § 17.

must be dubbed evil for an hard word or two against his Holiness, of what spirit, pray, was the sacred Council of Brixia, when they stigmatised Hildebrand? calling him, "virum procacissimum, sacrilegia et incendia prædicantem, perjuriam et homicidia defendentem, manifestum necromanticum," and a deal of that stuff. Now I can see no great difference between Luther and the Council in this matter, but that they railed perhaps with infallibility on their side, when he had only plain certainty on his.

But he rejected the authority of Councils*. Yes; "Siquando contraria Scripturæ statuunt †;" and so do all the Reformed, as well as he; so that this will not pass for a fault in him, till it is proved one in us too. But he never refused to be concluded by the authority of one legally summoned; as is plain from that preface of his to the Smalcald articles, written a little while before he went out of the world. Indeed the sense he had of the tricks and artifices used in convening these synods for some centuries together, and the noise of his adversaries, who were perpetually crying, "Councils, Canons, &c." when they had nothing else to say for their cause, might perhaps force out an expression or two from him, that did not carry all the respect due to those great names. He had fire in his temper, and a German bluntness, and, upon these provocations, might possibly strain a phrase with too great freedom; yet even the diligence of his accuser has in all his works been able to find out but a few passages of this nature; and of them, the most material perhaps were

* § 19.

† Assert. art. 29.

never found out by any body else but himself. For those two, which seem the warmest on this occasion, are quoted; the one from "Assertio, art. 36. contra "Reg. Angliæ;" the other from a Treatise of his about Councils, in 1639: two imaginary books, that the Considerer dreamt of perhaps, but I am sure Luther never wrote*; so that till he lays his indictment in some certain county, we do not think ourselves bound to answer an indefinite charge. As for the rest, we acknowledge, he called the Council of Constance, "Synagogam Sathanæ;" and I wonder my Author should be offended at the expression, when it is considered what unlucky things they did in the business of the Pope's supremacy; especially since their own Annalist has given the same title to that of Syrmium; a Council legally summoned by the Emperor Constantius, approved by Pope Liberius; and which they of the Roman persuasion have no colour to reject, but upon Protestant grounds, because it made heretical decrees. Luther says: "Sive "Papa, sive Concilium, sic aiunt; abundet quisque in "sensu suo, in rebus non necessariis ad salutem." Assert. art. 28. Here is he represented by this Author as denying the power of the Church in indifferent things; but this is foul dealing, to conceal the occasion the words were spoken upon, and then fasten a sense of his own. This article is aimed against the pretences of a Pope or Council to make that a necessary point of faith, by their determination, which was of itself un-

* In Luther's works in High Dutch there is a Book of Councils, I confess; but this cannot be that my Author means, because his quotations here are in Latin.

necessary before. For they took upon them, he knew, to enlarge the creeds which were already fixed; and had explained a parable of our Saviour's in a far different sense to what he taught it in. The faith, which was but a mustard-seed in the primitive ages, was grown by little and little, towards the beginning of the sixteenth century, into a great tree. This power of theirs, and no other, Luther here disowns, as any one that views the place but cursorily must needs see. There is no harm in this, I hope; and yet how big the accusation looked, as his sly enemy had managed it! There is another sentence taken from tom. II. p. 243.; but I must desire the citer henceforward to inform us of his editions too; for in the first Wirtemberg one, which I now have by me, no such thing appears. I would request of him too, to be punctual in his titles, that we, who are at the drudgery of reading him, may lose no more time than is necessary. By the book "De gravi Doctrina *," is meant, I suppose, "De quavis Doctrina;" but it is a trifle he has taken from it, and what he knows every body owns. Thus has this one paragraph afforded us more absurdities than we could possibly have expected in so narrow a compass; and methinks, though I do not well know what the words mean, yet, in the phrase of the man, it discovers "a strange *plerophory* of blindness."

Luther is next arraigned for speaking contemptuously of Fathers†: but this is a rank calumny; no man has a greater veneration for them than he. Let his latest writings (which our Author observes to have been the most

* P. 33.

† § 20.

"laughy")

“haughty”) give us a taste of his thoughts on this point :
 “I say not this, to lay a blot on the holy Fathers, whose
 “labours we ought with veneration to receive ; they
 “were great men, but men still *.” And a little after-
 wards : “When we find the opinions of Fathers jarring
 “with Scriptures, we must pay a respect to them even in
 “their very errors, and acknowledge them as our bet-
 “ters ; but we are not, nevertheless, for their sakes to
 “depart from the authority of holy writ †.” Nothing
 can be expressed with greater decency ; and, therefore,
 we may reasonably suspect false play in the citations
 which would persuade us to the contrary. To instance
 in the first : “Non ego quæro quid Ambrosius, Augus-
 “tinus, Concilia, &c. dicunt.” (Contra Reg. Angliæ.)
 Luther is there proving that no sort of tradition can
 make an article of faith, of what is not contained in
 Scripture ; and in this case if a thousand Ambroses, or
 Councils, should vote it such, he would slight the deci-
 sion. This is plain from what immediately follows :
 “Non disputo quid à quoquam dictum vel non dictum sit,
 “sed an hoc dictum necessarium sit servatu, an sit arti-
 “culus fidei, an sit æquale verbo Dei, &c.” I desire
 the Reader to trust his own eyes in consulting this pas-
 sage ; and then tell me, whether this man be not the
 foulest trader in quotations that ever he dealt with.

* “Non hæc dico in contumeliam sanctorum Patrum,
 “quorum labores venerari decet, fuerunt magni viri, sed viri
 “tamen.” Comm. in Genes. c. ii. p. 72.

† “Quoties videmus patrum opiniones cum Scriptura non
 “convenire, cum reverentia eos toleramus, & agnoscimus
 “tanquam majores nostros, sed propter eos tamen non disce-
 “dimus ab autoritate Scripture.” Ibid.

Indeed he is a very Procrustes in his way : whatever he meets of other mens, he unmercifully either stretches, or curtails, till he has made it exactly of a size with his own notions. The rest of the testimonies are highly impertinent ; and if they be looked into, it will be found they signify no more than this. The Fathers have erred, and therefore he cannot rely merely upon their authority : and what is this more than their own Canus and Cajetan say ? That no man should detest a new sense of Scripture for this, that it differs from the antient Doctors ; for God hath not (say they) tied exposition of Scripture to their senses *. We have a surfeit of quotations here again from the “ Colloquia ;” but I have told him what credit they are like to find with us. That from “ Captivitas Babylonica” needs only to be proposed entire. It goes upon a supposition, that Luther had already shewed the plain meaning of Scripture to be against the doctrine of the mass. Here, says he, “ Quid dicimus ad autoritates Patrum ? Primum respondeo, “ si nihil habetur quod dicatur, satius est omnia negasse, “ quam missam sacrificium esse concedere, ne verbum “ Christi negemus.” Very right ! supposing, as he does, that Christ’s words are express in the case. But neither does he rely on this plea ; for in the very next line he reconciles the Fathers and Scripture, and shews there is no clash betwixt them. What he wrote in commendation of Melancthon before his works, cannot be supposed so exact, as to discover his judgement on the point ; but was only a compliment strained a little too high in behalf of a friend.

* Can. Loc. Com. ib. c. vii. where he quotes Cajetan too.

I must leave the track of the discourse here, to fetch in another instance of Luther's despising Church-guides, and yet arrogating to himself all the authority of them. It is at § 23; which, because I take to be the completest piece of false dealing that ever was used on paper, I shall set down entire.

“ Upon the same presumption of his unerring judgment, he, by his single authority, altered the former public Liturgy, and reformed the service of the mass (apud Hosp. fol. 20.).” The place cited in Hospinian has not one word of this; but it has something directly contrary to it. Luther began not the reformation of the service of the mass; the Austin-fryars did it without his knowledge *, when he was in his retirement after the diet of Worms; and he wrote his book of the abolition of the mass afterwards, only to confirm them in what they had done. Carlsrat too, while he was absent †, promoted a reformation of the mass, and of several other abuses; but in too tumultuous a manner; so that Luther, upon his return to Wirtenburg, complained of the violence of their proceedings: “ Non quod impiè fecissent, sed quod non ordine: damnare se missam Papisticam, &c. sed damnare solo verbo, non violenta abrogatione.” The mass then was abrogated without Luther's consent; and not either by the single authority of him or any one man else. The whole university of Wirtenburg first gave in their reasons to Duke Frederick, and he himself complied with the alteration. Luther afterwards prevailed to have as

* Hosp. fol. 20.

† Melch. Adam V. L.

much of the service as was innocent restored again; and he was deputed to throw out all that part of it that made the Sacrament a sacrifice. He did so, but imposed not even this form as obligatory; for thus he speaks in the preface to it: “Nulli præjudicamus, ne aliam amplecti formulam aut sequi liceat; quin ex animo per Christum obsecramus, ut siquid melius illis revelatum fuerit, nos priores tacere jubeant, ut communi opera rem communem juvemus.”

“And generally held in matters of Religion no Ecclesiastical [that is, human] laws obliging” (see before, § 19.). I have proved already, that that paragraph says no such thing; and that Luther never disallowed the power of the Church in things indifferent.

“Began a new ordination of bishops and ministers descending from him, after having declared their former unctiō null, and God’s Church to be only that where the Gospel was purely preached, that was his.” I have shewn that he is far from declaring their former unctiō null, since in the Smalcald articles he allows their ordinations to be valid. Nor did he ever deny that the true Gospel was preached under the Papacy. “Nos fatemur” (they are his words) “sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani, imo omne bonum Christianum, imo verum nucleum Christianitatis*.”

“By the same authority, assisted by the power of the prince, he made new bishops, and put them in the places of the deceased: against the canonical election of another, made his intimate friend Amldorf, bishop of

* Ep. de Anabapt.

“Neoburg” (See Melch. Ad. Vit. p. 150.); “George Auhaltinus, bishop of Merzburg.” That he made new bishops, we admit; not out of choice, but necessity; following, as he thought, in this case, the practice of the Church, mentioned in that well-known passage of St. Austin’s: “In Alexandria & per totam Ægyptum, si
“desit episcopus, consecrat presbyter.” But that he put these bishops in the places of the deceased by his own authority, is notoriously false; for the Duke of Saxony always presented: as the following story will evince, when freed from the disguises he has put upon it, and honestly told. The canons of Neoburg, upon a vacancy, presented one Pflugius to the bishopric, who was refused unanimously “ab Ecclesia, ab ordinibus, & patronis
“ecclesiæ,” says Adam*. The Duke of Saxony had always the right of allowance; but in this case it was denied him; so he thrust out the invader, and collated Amstorf to the benefice. Luther performed the consecration, and the Duke and his brother Ernest were present at the ceremony†.

“By the same authority he sentenced the canon-law, “consisting of the former decrees amassed, as well those
“of Councils, as those of Popes, to the fire; and, assembling the University, solemnly burnt it at Wirten-
“berg.” The matter of fact is true; but it is frivolous to say he assumed to himself any particular authority in the doing it. The reasons he published declare, that it was done by virtue of the commission he had as preacher of God’s word; and the oath he took, at his going out Doctor, “of confounding all pernicious doc-

* Adamus in Vit. Amstorfii.

† Ibid.

“trines,

"trines, as much as in him lay;" so that he owns himself upon the level with all of the same degree. But he had other motives, he tells you. His books had been solemnly burnt at Rome as heretical: some people, he found, were startled at it; so he was forced boldly to make reprisals, and do an action in the same way, to buoy up their courages: yet he did it not singly, the University concurred. This way of burning declares no such authority as the Considerer talks of. Neither he, nor any one else that assisted at the Oxon-decree, pretended to it: if he declared his opinion then against Bellarmin, the Jesuits, &c. it was all that was expected.

"By the same, he frequently pronounced anathemas and excommunications to those Reformed that dissented from him in opinion." Is there no difference between an authoritative judicial anathema, and a wish of execration? The monks certainly did not pretend to the anathematizing power; and yet at the entrance of their MSS. we always find this sentence: "*Quicumque hunc librum violaverit, &c. sit Anathema Maranatha.*" It is the constant style of all their own men that write warmly: the "*Papist represented and misrepresented*" has used it at the tail of his pamphlet for some pages together. Thus has not this paragraph one ingenuous word throughout. I have dissected it for a sample, to shew how a man that had the patience, and was sure of the days of Job, might handle the rest: for I will do my Author this right, to acknowledge that his book is all of a piece. But he is here inconsistent, not only with truth, but himself. He would make us believe that Luther, in these actions, pretended to a *je ne sçay quoy* authority, forgetting what

he had sleepily owned in the paragraph before, that Luther "required not conformity to his doctrines, out of any authority he claimed to impose them, which authority he renounced." He thinks, perhaps, that what is past ought not to be thought of; but we are not of his opinion.

In this point of Church-authority, and that other of marriage, I have sifted all the little scraps alledged by the pamphlet with the greater care; because here it is, if any where, that the Author seems to be awake, and have some eye to his design. I do not know whether the Reader will thank me for this exactness, I hope the Writer will not. But, to make amends to them both, I promise in what follows not to be so punctual, but skip over sometimes four or five pages together, without saying one word to them. This weapon formed against us, if it had any sharpness, yet by this time I am sure it is quite blunted. A child may now be trusted with it, for the tool has not edge enough to hurt him. For what are the mighty considerations with which we are now to be entertained? The first is, that

Luther was so bold as to think, and say, he was certain of what he taught*: a crime of so high a nature, that the Considerer has taken pains to prove it by a passage as long almost as from hence to the beginning of the Reformation†. Now he might have spared his labour, for a well-grounded Protestant is in this point as bold as Luther himself. We have a certainty whose evidence we find, and under whose guidance we think ourselves secure, without the pretended boast of

* § 21. n. 1.

† § 24. n. 1, 2.

infallibility; a word, which sounds bigger indeed, and fills the mouth better, but is not so satisfactory at the bottom, as a late Author has (though not infallibly, yet) certainly proved*. But we will allow the Considerer to decry this Protestant certainty, which he never understood; if he had, our charity tells us, he would never have changed it for the gaudiest pretences on the other side.

But Luther maintained this certainty of his against other Reformed †, which were equally certain; and in contradiction to himself too ‡: for, in the point of consubstantiation, toward the latter end of his life, he changed his mind, say the papers; and quote for it Melchior Adam, and Hospinian. I suppose, my Author is sure of Luther's instability in this point, because he avers it so confidently. Now I am as sure, that from the authorities mentioned no such thing can be inferred, as shall presently be made out. Here is certainty against certainty, and one of us must be in the wrong. Yet neither of us is obliged to think his own sentiments ever the less right, merely because the other opposes them: why then might not Luther maintain his certainty against those of the Reformation that maintained the contrary? The conviction of his understanding lay within itself, and could not be weakened by another man's not being convinced. The reason of my certainty in the case is, because I am very well satisfied, that what Adam and Hospinian have here said does not at all infer a change in Luther's opinion. The story they tell

* Discourse about Judgement in Controversy.

† § 24. n. 3.

‡ § 21. B. 2.

is this: Luther, some days before his death, owned that he had written a little too warmly in the sacramentary controversy. Upon this, Melancthon desires him, ("ut leni edito scripto se explicaret") that he would explain himself in some milder treatise. The heat of dispute had forced out from him expressions, that seemed to make his doctrine run higher than really it did. It was his friend's advice, therefore, that he should, in some just discourse, calmly and without reflection state the point; and (not correct, but) explain his first notions ("ut leni edito scripto se explicaret"). Now, whatever sense *explaining* may now bear, yet in those days it did not signify *changing*; for the Bishop of Condom had not then writ his exposition. I am further convinced, that this story relates not to any change of Luther's opinion; but only to an hot word or two, that ought to have been softened, from the preface, with which Hospinian ushers it in. "Multi," says he, "verba Lutheri urgent, quæ calor disputationis *φθονος* ex-primere solet, dissimulantes aut nescientes illa, quæ valedicturus collegio philosophico, dixit;" and then comes the relation. Had this adversary acted up to this remark of Hospinian's, the bulky book we have now before us would have lain within a very little compass. But to go farther, and yield him what he does not ask: what if Hospinian should have said in other places, that Luther wavered in the point of the sacrament? does it follow, that he really did so, because one of differing sentiments, and that would any way have drawn Luther over to his party, has said it? or can we conclude upon Luther's instability (as our Author has done)

done) because in a single notion, no way fundamental, an enemy writes that he had some doubtings? This is such a way of reasoning as is answered only by being despised. However, it is pretty odd to see instability and fluctuation in opinion so earnestly charged upon Luther by such as have lived half their days in a poise between two churches; and write even now, when the scales are turned, with so much waryness and reserve, that a body would not think them heartily of any.

But Luther condemned his brethren of the Reformation too*; not without returning the censure. There was eagerness, I confess, on both sides; but this is far from laying a blot upon Luther. It argues him a very honest man, who had such a zeal against error, as not to suffer it in a friend: and is an undeniable evidence, that he took not upon him the character of a Reformer in opposition to a party (as has been falsely suggested), since, where truth was concerned, he equally opposed all. The debate perhaps between him and the Sacramentarians (as they are called) was managed with a fierceness not exactly warrantable; but it must be considered, that the best men of antiquity have been guilty of such excesses. Have we forgotten the feud of Hierome and Rufinus? of Epiphanius and Chrysostome? of Victor and the Greek bishops, whom he excommunicated for a trifle? Or, to go higher, did not Paul and Barnabas, when sent out together by the Holy Ghost, dispute with that vehemence, about a very little point of conveniency, that they were forced to break company? These infirmities are such as Christians of the first rank have fallen

* § 22. 25. 26.

into; and the proving Luther guilty of them, is the proving him a man, and no angel. How far either he, or any other Reformer, might go in this quarrel, out of a love of victory, and the shame of being baffled, it concerns not me to determine. I am satisfied with what the Apostle has told me, that "some preach Christ out of contention and strife; yet so they preach, and so we believe." But what will my Author leave unobjected against Luther, when he makes it his crime, that he defied and abused even the devil? whereas "Saints," he says, "are usually more modest, and go no farther than a bare *imperet tibi Dominus**." A pretty way of calling himself Saint! for it is his own familiar phrase. But upon the same principle we must deny him to be one; for Saints are usually more modest than to call themselves so.

We are now to have a taste of the "maledicency of Luther's spirit" from his book against Henry the Eighth †: a fault, which I cannot but wonder to find objected by such men, who every day make bolder with the names of both him and his royal issue. I shall not wholly defend his carriage here, since he himself has condemned it. All the truth in the world on one's side can never justify an unmannerly expression. But it must be considered, when a King of such repute for learning entered the lists against him, what a noise this action made, and how some weaker Protestants must needs be startled by it. Luther, therefore, that he might fix his followers, thought himself concerned to take up a bricker air of assurance, and shew a particular undauntedness in the cause of truth, when it had so mighty an op-

* P. 67.

† § 33.

poser. But here he over-acted his part: his passions, when once let loose, were too impetuous to be managed; the native plainness of his country, and the privacy of his own education, which had not been much acquainted with greatness, carried him beyond the respects due to a crowned head; and brought out such blunt truths from him, as neither friends nor enemies could tell well how to approve. But the party was even with him. Sir Thomas More took up the quarrel, a man (as they tell us) much a Christian, much a gentleman, and naturally of great mildness and candour; who yet forgot himself so far in this answer to Luther, that he has there thrown out the greatest heap of nasty language that perhaps ever was put together. The book throughout is nothing but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reasoning to support it; and gave the Author no other reputation, but that of having the best knack of any man in Europe, at calling bad names in good Latin; though his passion is sometimes so strong upon him, that he sacrifices even his beloved purity to it. "Hæc est," he says, "Domini Doctoris posterioristice; qui quum sibi jam prius fas esse scripserit coronam regiam conspergere & conspurcare stercorebus; an non nobis fas erit posterius hujus posterioristicæ, linguam stercoreatam pronuntiare dignissimam, ut vel mejentis mulæ posteriora lingat suis prioribus," &c. p. 72. I forbear to instance any further: if the reader has a mind to see railing in its perfection, let him open any one page of his book, and he will have a glut of it. But perhaps the bad treatment, which Luther had before received from one Sovereign Prince, might urge him to
talk

talk the more disrespectfully of another. The style of edicts, we know, is generally calm and majestic: yet Charles the Fifth, after the Diet of Worms, put out such a blustering one against Luther, as even modest Papists have condemned.—“*Constat,*” says he, “*hunc unicum non hominem, sed dæmonem, potius figura & specie humana cuculloque monastico indutum,*” &c. Ulemberg confesses that this decree was by some thought too sharply penned: but these were only the ignorant, he says; for others very well knew that Maximilian once saw a devil sitting upon his cowl *. As for the heat with which he treated his other adversaries, it was sometimes strained a little too far; but in the general was extremely well fitted by the providence of God to rouse up a people, the most phlegmatic of any in Christendom. Europe lay then under a deep lethargy, and was no otherwise to be rescued from it but by one that would cry mightily, and lift up his voice with strength. Besides, printing and letters had just then peeped abroad in the world; and the restorers of learning in Italy, taking the advantage of the press, wrote very eagerly against one another, so that invectives were in those days the fashionable way of writing. If Luther, therefore, mingled a little gall with his ink in his books of controversy, he followed but the humour of the age; and, considering the stupidity, the malice, and the obstinacy of his readers, cannot but be thought excusable.

I have seen, at the end of Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History, a catalogue of Cæsars, Bishops, Heretics, &c. where Chrysostom is set down as guilty of too great

* Rayn. ad ann. 1521.

sharpness and liberty of speech: but it is added—"Pro-
 "fecto illorum temporum vitia fecari atque uri, non le-
 "vibus medelis curari, veluere." And this is the plea
 we would make for Luther. In the mean time, it is base
 in his adversaries thus to dwell upon the excesses of a
 passion, of which they themselves were in a great mea-
 sure the occasion. When they could not coolly con-
 vince him *, they railed, and called him an Heretick;
 thus they wound up his temper to a pitch, and then
 treacherously made use of that infirmity. And it is the
 same ungenerous method they take in reproaching us
 with schisms; when, alas! none knows better than
 they, how the Panther † (for under that name, it
 seems, we must be baited) came by her spots.

To what purpose then are Erasmus and Calvin's
 testimonies urged upon a confessed point ‡? It is owned,
 Luther had a vehemence of speech; and if he offended
 that way, yet it was an useful (not to say a necessary)
 failure. There was but this single fault that Erasmus,
 though an enemy, could object to him; the other part
 of the character speaks as high as we could wish. For
 his life and manners, thus: "Hominis vita magno om-
 "nium consensu probatur. Jam id non leve præjudi-
 "cium est, tantam esse morum integritatem, ut nec
 "hostes reperiant, quod calumnientur §." And as to

* "Tot sunt millia Rabbiorum, tot sunt qui sibi præ-
 "videntur: nullus existit qui Luthero sobrie doctæque
 "responderet, siue inscitia fuit in causa, siue metus, quorum
 "nihil competit in bonos Theologos." Erasmus, Epist. ad
 Godesch, anno 1520.

† An allusion to the Hind and Panther of Dryden.

‡ § 31. n. 2, 3.

§ Ep. ad Tho. Card. p. 543. ed. Lond. 1642.

his doctrine: "Compertum est a theologis quibusdam
 "damnari ut hæretica in libris Lutheri, quæ in Ber-
 "nardi Augustinique libris, ut orthodoxa, imo ut pia
 "leguntur*." So that Erasmus is perversely brought
 in, to blacken Luther's reputation. What he says of him
 would not disparage the best of saints; for it amounts
 to no more than this, that he had many great virtues,
 and amongst them one small infirmity; so that if the
 standard Comines has given us of a good king be
 accepted, that he is then to be accounted so when his
 virtues exceed his vices, how good a man must we
 conclude Luther to have been! Guicciardine, I am
 sure, has taken a much greater latitude for Popes,
 who, he says, "are now-a-days to be praised for their
 "goodness, when they exceed not the wickedness of
 "other men †." But further, "Schooling Luther ‡"
 is an under-valuing term, and would make one think
 that Erasmus had a mean opinion of him: whereas I
 do not know any one even of the Reformed that speaks
 more respectfully of Luther than he. When Alexan-
 der and Caracciolus were sent from Rome to Colen
 in 1520, to tempt Erasmus with a bishopric, to write
 against Luther; hear the return he made them: "Ma-
 "jor est Lutherus, quam ut in illum ego scribam.
 "Major est Lutherus quam ut a me intelligatur. Planè
 "Lutherus tantus est, ut plus erudiar et proficiam ex
 "lectione unius pagellæ Lutheranæ, quam ex toto
 "Thoma." If this be "Schooling," it is well for the

* Ep. ad Archiep. Mog. p. 586.

† Guicc. l. 16.

‡ § 31. n. 3.

Considerer: I will engage that no adversary of his shall in this sense ever school *him*.

There is a little occasional remark of the Author's, p. 45. which slipped me. He is there angry with Luther for saying, "that Peter taught otherwise than "he should by the word of God, and therefore erred;" whereas, "his example only," he says, "and not his "doctrine, was false." But this is trifling: for are there no errors in matter of practice? And does not he who so errs, if he be in a conspicuous station, teach as much by his example, as he could by his doctrine; since every action is supposed always to be bottomed upon some principles? But, besides, it is highly probable that Peter asserted an opinion agreeable to this practice; for else how could St. Paul withstand him to the face? Withstanding by words on one side, implies an opposition in the same kind on the other. When Elymas is said to have "withstood Paul and Barnabas," and when Paul says of Alexander "he hath greatly withstood our words," do we think the withstanding there was without speaking?

He steps out of his way, p. 59. to make a remark upon Calvin; but, because the scene of our affairs now lies at Wirtenberg, and Geneva is many miles off, he must pardon me, if I do not step out of my way to confute it.

Hitherto the Considerer hath been attacking Luther in his doctrines and positions; and now and then a word or two has crept in, to keep his first design in countenance. He is now making his last efforts upon his reputation, by shewing us what company he kept. He
would

would persuade us, that "Luther had frequent inter-
"courses and dialogues with the Devil *." He proves it,
first, by the story Luther tells of himself, in his book
"De Missa privata, &c." It is true, he does there
say, that, "waking once at midnight, Satan began
"this disputation with him;" but how began it? "In
"animo instituit," say the words of the relation; by
suggesting bad thoughts to him, not by any personal
conference, as the pamphlet all along would insinuate.
To fix this idea upon the mind of the Reader, there is
an account here given of Satan's way in disputation:
"Diabolus sua argumenta fortiter figere, et urgere
"novit: voce quoque gravi et forti utitur, &c." All
which is wanting in the first Wirtemberg edition; but
was requisite, to support the fiction of a real appearance,
which my Author had raised. If Luther relates these
suggestions in the way of a formal and set dialogue, it
is only a contrivance of his, to make the story more
divertive in the telling, and was perfectly the style of
the Convent in those days. I desire, therefore, the
Reader to remember the excuse Luther has made for
himself: "Pium lectorem oro, ut ista legat cum judicio,
"et sciat me fuisse aliquando monachum †."

He goes on with two or three quotations from Me-
lancthon and Melchior Adam, which in their utmost
signify no more than that Luther lay under severe ago-
nies of mind. Oh! but Adam says, "the devil ap-
"peared to him in his garden, in the shape of a black
"boar ‡." And the "Colloquia Mensalia" relate,

* § 32.

† Luth. Pref. in Op.

‡ P. 52.

how, when Luther was at his chamber in the castle at Wartburg, "the Devil cracked some nuts he had in a box " upon the bed-post, tumbled empty barrels down stairs," &c.—What pretty stories these are, for a man of my Author's seriousness to sport himself withal! He knows Adam is a collector, and took every thing upon trust, without ever being famed for any exactness of judgement; and as for his table-talk, he would do well to vent it there, where it was first spoken; for we have told him more than once, that it is not like to bear the force of an argument with us; it may serve to divert a Reader, but is not fit to convince him. But Luther himself confesses (*Lib. de Vet. Monast.*) that "the Devil used all " methods to hinder and annoy him &c." No doubt of it; it was his interest, so to stop the progress of the Gospel: and, since Luther's death, the same design has been carrying on, by him and his agents, against his reputation. But this is so far from giving us a prejudice against Luther, that we think it a very good character of him, that the Devil and he were at enmity; and no very bad one, that the Considerer is not his friend. I have strictly examined particulars here; and, letting every title he has brought go in his own sense, can discover, after all, none of those "frequent inter- " courses and negotiations" we were told of; unless it be proper to say, that Luther negotiated with a black boar, and had an intercourse with the Devil about nut-cracking; stories so silly, that they are fit to be the objects of a stronger and more resigning faith than we Protestants can pretend to.

Pafs we on then to the next paragraphs. And there I found my Author pretty well difengaged from quotations. I was in hopes upon this to fee a fair naked piece of reasoning, and was refolved to give it as fair an answer. But I quickly faw there was no need for it; fheer argument is not the talent of the man I have to deal with. Little wrested fentences of Authors are the blaadders which bear him up, and he finks downright when he once pretends to fwim without them. He difcourses us here very largely upon “the craft and wili-
“ nefs of the Devil;” and proves how “fly and double-
“ faced” his defigns commonly are, for four or five pages together; all which we in one line answer, by granting it. But what inference does he make from these pre-
miffes? That a man befet with temptations cannot pof-
fibly know with what defign the Devil attacks him? No;
that Luther did not? Nor that neither; but only that
it was pretty difficult for him to do it. Perhaps it was;
but if faftings, prayers, and a ferious application in order
to a difcovery of truth, will not call in God Almighty’s
affiftance, what fhall we fay of that text where it is pro-
mifed, that “we fhall not be tempted above what we are
“ able?” These means Luther ufed, and these we
question not but God accepted of, and led him into truth.
Now for our Author’s faying that this might be a Satani-
cal illufion, fo fay I too. But the question is, not what it
might be, but what it really was. And to this there
is not a fyllable of proof offered. He has only bufily
been proving how ready Satan is to “get an advantage
“ over us.” It is owned; and he has been formerly
told, “that we are not ignorant of his devices.”

But the arrow is now drawn to the head. "There seems great evidence," he says, "that the whole platform of the Reformation proceeded originally from the Devil *." A gross calumny! which we could not easily pardon, if he did not kindly wipe it off by the reasons that follow. His very next words are: "for many of these very arguments against the former Church, which the Devil now openly owned and urged to Luther in this disputation, anno Dom. 1522, were the very same that had been urged by Luther some years before;" that is, because Luther urged these arguments first, and the Devil afterwards, therefore Luther copied from the Devil. It is amazing to consider how this inference should come into the head of any thing that thinks. The truth of the story is this. Luther had published several treatises against the mass, long before this dispute; one in High Dutch, in 1520; and the same year had writ against it in his "Captivitas Babylonica;" another in Latin, intituled, "De abroganda Missa privata, anno 1521;" and, some months before this, in his book against Ambrosius Catharinus and his Wormes Articles. In 1522, the Devil (that is, Luther's conscience, by his instigations) turns these very reasonings upon him; and, taking advantage of them as of confessed principles, infers that then Luther must have been unpardonably wicked in using masses for fifteen years together. "Audisne, inquit, excellentissime doctor? num ignoras te per annos quindecim privatas missas quotidie fere celebrasse? &c." How comes the pamphlet to conclude then from this

account, that " whilst Luther was in the bosom of the " Church, the Devil, by his arguments, disputed him into " a Reformation?" Will he pretend that these reasonings must needs be received from Satan at first by Luther, because used by him afterwards against Luther? This is so precarious a consequence, and yet establishes so unchristian a reflection, that it deserves only one of his own " Deus tibi imperet's" for an answer. Let the case be put home to him, and he must own the foolishness of it. He has left the Communion of the Church of England for some time; upon good grounds, I suppose, he will tell us, and convincing reasons. Should the Devil now employ these very reasons against him, by the force of them, to set-out how heinous his sin was in continuing so long in our Communion; would it follow, that the Devil was the author of his conversion? Or, rather, would he not think us, that made this inference, neither good Christians, nor good arguers? And yet he, who would pass for both, has not, we see, given Luther fair play. But " the old Serpent," he says, " was very silly," if his design upon Luther in this conference was as we have represented it; " for he might " have considered, in the discovery of so much new " truth, what might have happened, if, instead of de- " spair, he should prove a Reformer*." What does he mean here? Could the Devil fear a discovery of truths, which (as he himself owns, p. 71.) Luther had preached-up five years before? Could he dread a future Reformation, which had then been a good while a-foot? These are such inadvertencies, that a body would think,

* P. 85.

that even our Author, with all his drowsy reasoning, could never have been capable of them. No; his design was to stop a Reformation already begun, by involving in despair one of the chief supports of it. He gave no new light to Luther, but only accidentally added new strength to his faith, inasmuch as the assault was in vain. False therefore is that assertion of the pamphlet's, that "Luther yielded the field to the Devil" "in this combat as conqueror." All he yielded to in the dispute was, the conviction of those arguments which he himself had before reformed upon. The objections the Tempter raised from hence, to discourage his faith, and shake his constancy, those he withstood and baffled. What is there then, in this encounter, that can be laid hold of to Luther's disadvantage? Is it, that he conversed with the Devil? He did not, we see; the dispute was managed "in animo atque in corde," by suggestions "within," not "without," by any personal appearance. But, had he really entered into dialogue, yet the precedent our Saviour has given would have been his warrant. And, would one ransack the lives of their Popes [Sylvester the 11d, Gregory VII. Benedict VIII. Hildebrand, &c.], it were easy to retaliate, and shew how much greater intimacies have been maintained between Satan and some of them. Is it that his doctrine of the mass was struck out in this conflict? or that it gave him any occasion of reforming in this point? We have evidently made out the contrary, by an elder date of some works of his, which establish these very opinions. Yet, should it have been so, the actions of their own Saints would justify Luther's
manage-

management: for their admired Dominick reformed the Religious of his Convent upon just such another encounter with the Devil*; and made use of his accusation, though contrary to the intention of the accuser. Is it that Luther complied with the Tempter's arguments? No such matter! The supposition he allowed, because it was his own; but denied the sequel, which his disputant would have fastened upon him. Yet, should what he yielded to have been Satan's own proposition, it does not follow that he was therefore in the wrong; for lying is not the indelible character even of the Father of lyes: sometimes a truth serves his turn better. He quoted texts right upon our Saviour, though he expounded them wrong; and surely he told no lie, when he confessed Christ Jesus to be "the Son of the living God." Does this story carry such scandalous impressions along with it, that even Chillingworth himself (was it as one of his motives for deserting our Communion? But pray take in the part of the account too, and consider how he laughed at it when he returned. So that, after a search into particulars, all we find true in this affair is, that the Devil once made a solemn onset upon Luther, as before he had done on his Redeemer. A calumny which we are so far from disowning, that we are proud of it! The Devil had great reason to employ all his engines against a man who had made such a ravage in his kingdom; and he took a good time to make his attacks, when Luther was in his fortitudes at the Castle of Wartburg; for there it was, I think, that the scene of

* See Antonin. Chron. part. 3. tit. 23. c. 4. 6.

the temptation lay. Upon the whole then, our Author's modesty seems to be unexampled, who, upon so slight grounds, nay, upon no grounds at all, could be bold enough to say, that "the whole platform of the Reformation proceeded originally from the Devil* ; and again, that "the Devil is the original founder and abettor of the Reformation†. These are such faucy expressions upon a Religion established by law, as deserve rather to be burnt than confuted.

The manage and address of my Author has been spent to no purpose in tricking up this story ; for, after all, we see, it has no hideous appearance. He is resolved now (in contradiction still to the method laid down of considering works only, and not disputing) to baffle the arguments the opponent urges in the dispute, and shew how slight the propositions were which Luther let go for good‡. So that the tables are turned ; and whereas the scene before lay betwixt Luther and Satan, it is now betwixt the Devil and the Considerer. And for my part, to give every one his due, I think the Devil has much the best of it. I shall pass by the little skirmishings on either side, and touch only on what is material. The Devil argues against private masses||, from the nature of Christ's institution, when he distributed it about to his disciples, and said, "Do this," &c. ; from St. Paul's comment on these words, 1 Cor. xi. ; from the usage of the Primitive Church§ ; and from the term

* P. 71.

† P. 72.

‡ P. 72.

|| § 40. n. 3.

§ See Annot. in Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. c. 6. where this usage is confessed.

"Communion," which she always expressed it by. Here the Answerer has nothing to say, but that the priest in these masses is ready to communicate the sacrament to all that offer themselves. But this is not enough; for the Devil's question is, whether it be not against the notion of a sacrament, that the consecrator alone should partake of it? He urges farther, that neither have they any intention of communicating it, because the words of consecration are pronounced, according to the canon of the mass, with "a whisper," and so not designed for the people's ears: and to all this, there is not a word replied. The Devil goes on to object, that as Luther had withheld all the sacrament in private masses, so neither did he give it entire in public ones *. To this the Answerer returns nothing; but that the practice of the Primitive Church is sufficient warrant, that the words of institution are not so to be expounded as if both kinds were necessary. But this bold assertion has been so fully vanquished in a late reply to the Bishop of Meaux's treatise on this subject, that I shall not stop here to expose it. The Reader will there find, that not a single instance of Communion in one kind is to be found in all the records of antiquity. At least, if our word will not be taken, that of the Council's will, which decreed it with a *non-obstante* to the custom of the Primitive Church †. Satan argues against their form of ordination, which seems rather to give the power of "offering a sacrifice," than "distributing a sacrament:" for the words, he says, of the suffragan, when he delivers the chalice into the priest's hands,

* § 40. n. 4.

† § 40. n. 5.

are, "Take thou power of consecrating and sacrificing for
 "the quick and the dead." What says the Replier? Why, that "sacrificare," in the Church's sense, takes in the distributing part too. But we know this is not the Church-sense, and refer ourselves to the Trent Catechism to expound it. There * the Eucharist is said to be instituted upon a double account: the one, that it might be a spiritual food for our souls; the other, that it might be a sacrifice for our sins; so that whatever belongs to it, as it is the food of our souls, belongs to it as a sacrament; and certainly the ministering of it to the people belongs to it as it is the food of our souls, and therefore as a sacrament, not a sacrifice. Besides, the notion of "sacrificing" has nothing in it of distribution; it is offering something slain by the hands of a priest to God. Now this is all done before it comes to be distributed to the people, as they who allow private masses must needs acknowledge. It avails not the Considerer here to urge another part of the office, where the priest is said to be ordained "*in totum presbyteratus officium*:" for if, in the most solemn clause of it, where the power is specified and conveyed, no mention be made of a power of "imparting the sacrament," why should not the "*totum officium*" be rather reduced to this, than this to that? Nor does this prejudice Luther's orders at all; for, since no set form of words is prescribed by God as essential to ordination, we doubt not but that, where the Church intends to convey this, it is actually conveyed, though the form of doing it should be a little defective, which is all the Devil

* Cap. de Euch. § 75.

here pretends to make out, and which yet I do not see his adversary has answered. Satan proceeds to another objection against his using the mass as a sacrifice propitiatory for sins, contrary to Christ's institution. Our Author says, it is a propitiatory sacrifice, only as those under the Law are said to be so with respect to that on the Cross. But, by his leave, we deny the parallel; for the question we would put is not, whether the sacrament of the mass be as truly propitiatory as those under the Law; but, whether it be as truly a sacrifice? If so, then it is a true proper sacrifice, without relation to that of the Cross (for such the Jewish sacrifices were); and is not only commemorative or representative, as we are told at a push; even as the annual offering of the Paschal Lamb was not only commemorative of that first Paschal Lamb, but also in itself, exclusively to that respect, an entire proper sacrifice. But, if he shall say, it is not of itself a true, proper sacrifice, it will follow, that neither can it be so with respect to that on the Cross; for whatever is not in its own nature a true proper sacrifice, can never be made so by a relation to some other that is. The parallel then is wide; for the immolations under the Law were first in their own nature sacrifices, and then propitiatory, in virtue of that last offering upon the Cross: whereas the sacrament of the Eucharist has not that first ground of a real sacrifice; and so nothing to support its propitiatory virtue upon. But learned Protestants*, he says, have long since yielded up this argument, and quotes Mede and Perkins for it. They

* § 45.

say, indeed, that the Eucharist is a "sacrifice in representation;" (and who ever said otherwise?) but deny expressly, that it is really and properly such. Our Author wonders they should relieve themselves with this distinction, and yet own the legal sacrifices (though representative) to be proper and real. But I hope his wonder will abate a little, now I have shewed him the difference between them. St. Paul's authority brought from 1 Cor. x. 18. is beside the purpose. The Apostle is there arguing against the Gnostics, who joined in the idol-feasts, and whom he therefore accuses of participating of the idol-god; even as those, he says, who join in the Christian-feast, participate of Jesus Christ: therefore the one is as much a sacrifice as the other! No! But therefore the one is as much an "act of religious worship" as the other, and a "confederating" with him to whom the sacrifice is offered; for upon that the Apostles argument runs. Satan had therefore reason to say, that Christ instituted not the Sacrament to be either a sacrifice, or singly received; for look upon the words of institution, "do this." Do what? no doubt of it, what I did; that is, bless the bread and wine, and distribute it. So that, where this is not done, there is no sacrament; and where it is done, no sacrifice: for nothing is done but what Christ did. Now he did not offer up himself; for then what need of the oblation of the Cross afterwards, as it was well urged by near half the Divines and Fathers of Trent*; who asserted also, that neither Scripture, Fathers, Canon of the Mass, nor any Council, ever said that Christ

* Council of Trent, p. 545.

offered up himself in the last supper. But I am weary of saying what has been so often said, and shall therefore leave Satan and my Author to dispute it out, as not being much concerned which way the victory goes: for the strength of the cause, I suppose, does not depend upon either of their talking. Indeed, since the main of the argument has proved good, it is a needless talk to vindicate particulars. If what is said in the lump be supposed of force enough to ground Luther's aversion against the mass, it is all we desire. So that had I leisure to pursue the minutes of the discourse, yet the argument would be but where it was: for one demonstration upon a subject is as good as a thousand. The disputing part might have been spared here, because it is foreign to the first design of proposing bare works, and by them making an estimate of doctrines. But I must be content to follow my Guide in his own way. Should I have set aside every thing that was impertinent, my answer must have lain within the room of one of his paragraphs. But this had not been deference enough to an Author of his bulk; and the dwarf had looked too despicably little, to encounter the giant.

He comes now to make his reflections upon this dry tedious story *. He guesses it probable that the Devil intended by this dialogue to fix Luther's notions of the mass more strongly upon him; and I guess otherwise. His only way to confute me will be, to shew that those notions are bad; till that is done, we are not to be moved by conjectures.

* § 41, 42.

Here is a digression about Zuinglius*, which yet, contrary to the rule of episode, has nothing in it surprising. Zuinglius dreamt, it seems, one night, of a text, which upon recollection he found very pat to his doctrine of the Eucharist; and what thoughtful man is there, that has not met with such lucky hints some time or other, without thinking himself obliged to the Devil for the discovery?

The next paragraph recapitulates †, and has been answered already. He begins then to make his concessions ‡. Luther, he thinks, discovered not these wiles of Satan §, but infers that he was therefore the more dangerous instrument; and so takes occasion to tell us the story of Vaninus, and lay our bigotry and false confidence in all its colours. Some people have died “by suspension at Tyburn,” he says; “some by fire at Smithfield,” with an equal resolution for two contradictories. This is a darling point, and he is every where full of it: you will find him at it, in much what the same words, Church-Government, Part vii. p. 260. But what does he mean by it? Would he argue, that because both thought themselves certainly in the right, therefore he of the two, that was in the right, was not sure of it? Does Truth know herself ever the less to be Truth, because Error stands up, and pretends boldly to know the contrary? This strikes at all certainty, as well as Luther's: and my Author must needs be a Sceptic, and no Roman-Catholic, if he believes it.

He owns there were several specious pretences for a Reformation; and allows Luther not to have been desti-

* § 44.

† § 45.

‡ § 46.

§ § 47.

title of many personal virtues * ; but then, he says, they did not balance his vices ; and, to prove this, instances in his sensuality and disobedience two crimes which he has dealt with, as Varillas does with Charles the Vth ; and, to make the more solemn shew, split them into twenty : for he accuses him of pride and contention ; of licentiousness and rebellion ; of anger and impatience. He accuses him of self-admiration, and contempt of others ; of railing and blaspheming against the Catholic-church ; and of a great many other *synonyma's* : all which have been sufficiently confuted in what goes before ; and shall receive here no other answer than one of his own, " Words." I shall give one instance of my Author's integrity, and so dismiss this point. He cannot but own, that Luther dissuaded the Protestants from taking up arms in the cause of Religion ; but, according to his usual way of guessing at people's thoughts, imputes it to his being conscious of their weakness. All that I shall say to this kind censure is, that the passive obedience of the Primitive Christians has been used at the same rate by a late Author, whose face I have since seen through a pillory.

He gives a finishing stroke to his reasonings now towards parting, by a parallel drawn between Luther and Mahomet †. A man is tempted here to return the kindness, and give him another between somebody that he knows and Judas. But we understand with what design this odious comparison was made, and shall therefore (to mortify him) not be provoked. Only he will give us leave to revive an old observation, that Mahomet

* § 48, 49, 50, 51.

† § 52.

and Pope Boniface were contemporaries. Indeed Boniface got the start of him a little, and set up his kingdom about fifteen years before him; but Mahomet, having the advantage of so good a pattern, though he began something later, has thrived better. There is an Author too of ours, that has writ a book called "Turco-Papismus," which I could desire him to read before he ventures at capping characters. These, he has given us, are very childish, and have no other property of parallels, but that, draw them out on both sides as far as you please, they will never meet. I am too weary now to allow myself any excursion from the main design; else here is a fair opportunity to shew how great a bungler my Author is in hitting features. And, after all, let the likenesses be never so true, yet a Parallel, in a Writer of Controversy, is no more than a Simile from a Pleader at the Bar: it may glitter a little, and look prettily, but will never convince the Jury. What is said upon this occasion, then, I shall suppose within a parenthesis, and so go on.

He resumes his first method afresh*; and, after this long account, would now at last try his "doctrine" by his "works," according to that text, "Ye shall know them by their fruits," which he here repeats again, and expounds as formerly. But I have shewed him, from the natural drift of the words, from the joint authorities of our and their own expositors, that this text must have another meaning. Yet we have complied even with this sense too; and expected, after we had condescendingly made Luther's works umpires in the

controversy, that the gross of his book should have been taken up in setting them out; but find contrarily that two-thirds of it have been employed against his "doctrines." We may hope at least that he will be more pertinent in the close*. Here then, after some little flourishes about the connexion of truth and holiness, error and vice (which kindly destroy one another), he sums up the evidence; that is, he sets out what bad consequences Luther's doctrine had; instancing in "variety" of sects, dissoluteness of life," &c. which, he says, attended the Reformation. So that by "works," it seems, he did not mean "Luther's works," as we were foolishly made to believe for above an hundred pages together (for on this topic not one word here is said); but the works of those that followed Luther; and when his failings are too light to carry any weight, other men's vices are thrown into the scale. What a strange thoughtlessness is this, to write a book, and then baulk the whole design of it, just when it is to be shut up! "The deferter," it seems, is resolved to maintain his character, by running from every thing, and leaving his own very methods in the lurch. But how does he prove this dissoluteness of manners upon the Reformed? Why, as he does other things—he says it. Now whether there were at that time any such bad things as he talks of among Protestants or no; yet, we are sure, these fruits could not spring naturally from Luther's doctrine. They might perhaps arise from it, as vermin from the power of the sun, by equivocal production: but that they were its direct genuine issue, is a proposition in vain asserted,

* § 61.

unless it be proved. To shew this, would be to his purpose: till he does, we are left at a gaze; and have nothing (for all his fine promises at first) to try Luther's doctrines by, but the very doctrines themselves. But men had reason to suspect them, he says, because "they
 " came into the world neither with miracles, nor (if we
 " consider all said) with the signs of a good Spirit,
 " nor yet owned or defended (nay also rejected and con-
 " demned) by the Church *." For the first of these, miracles, Luther, we own, came without them, but neither had he any need of them. Their use is to establish some new doctrine, not to restore an old one, which was his case. And therefore he no where pretends to any extraordinary immediate vocation, but only to that ordinary call of the Presbytery, and the commission then given him to preach the truth of the Gospel, and confound error. As to the "signs of a good spirit," I have "considered all said," and cannot find that he had the signs of a bad one. He had a zeal for God's glory, which hurried him sometimes beyond what was decent in his expressions; but this imperfection was, we doubt not, easily pardoned by that God, who in some measure accepted Jehu's zeal, though stained with gross hypocrisy. In other things, I hope, I may by this time boldly pronounce him blameless. As for the Church's rejecting and condemning his doctrine, it is the old figure of the "Church of Rome" for the "Catholic Church;" and is too trite a subject to be here insisted on.

But truth and holiness, error and vice, have a necessary connexion: What then? Luther we have proved

an holy man, and therefore this does not touch us in the sense he would have it. Yet truth and holiness, error and vice, are not, it seems, so necessarily linked together, but that a teacher of something false may bring forth the fruits of a good life; and, contrarily, the teacher of truth the fruits of a bad; for these are his words in this very paragraph; so that *necessary* and *contingent* are the same in this man's logic.

Again, he proves that "where more corrupt doctrines are believed and taught, there for the general are more corrupt lives*." Agreed! but are Luther's doctrines of such a stamp? Indeed, in his gross way of delivering them, they may have such an appearance. The four main heads are, he says, 1. "The nullity and Antichristianism of the former Clergy, and the non-obligation of their laws†." But I have made out from the Smalcald articles, that Luther held no nullity in this case; and though, in points fundamental, he allowed not the authority of Councils, as depending merely on Revelation for them; yet, in things indifferent, I have shewed that he was as willing to be concluded by their sanctions as any man. 2. "The inutility of works, penance, mortifications, &c." This is all a slander; he decried not the use, but the merit of them. 3. "The servitude of man's will, and inability to do good even in the regenerate." Luther's doctrine of free-will is, when fairly expounded, the same with the Church of England's; as such we own it, and shall defend it. 4. "The sole sufficiency of faith in us for our justification." We have told him that Luther held good

* § 60.

† § 61.

works as necessary to salvation as any Papist of them all, though he did not think they were the "cause of justification." That they followed upon it, as heat attends the light of the sun, he owned; but then, as heat does not enlighten, however close joined with that which does so neither do they justify. If then "it was out of these three latter points, that a great dissoluteness of life, covetousness, oppression, &c. grew;" it is to be hoped the crimes imputed are but a fiction, and that the Reformed are not so bad as they are represented, since those three points, when truly stated, have a quite different air, we see, from what he has bestowed upon them. The paragraph referred to, I am sure, proves no such thing*. There are two or three expressions, from Erasmus, Calvin, and Musculus, which represent some of the Reformed as worse than while they were Papists. And will he take the advantage of this, so far as to say, that the Reformation does of itself make men worse? If he will, it is plain, he is resolved to make all the spiteful inferences he can, without troubling himself whether they are just or no.

He proceeds to reflect on the many sects that sprung up after the Reformation†. But a late Apologetical Vindicator of the Church of England has so fully cleared this objection, that the most partial must be satisfied. I can add nothing to what that worthy Author has done, and shall therefore spare myself the trouble of transcribing. I shall only take notice of something the Considerer relates on this occasion. "By reason of these sects," he says, "following the Reformation so close

* § 7.

† § 62.

“ at the heels, &c. Luther often foretold that the true Religion should not long continue after his death.” He brings not a letter from Luther to confirm this report, which is an evident sign that he cannot ; for, upon lesser occasions, he does not spare his Latin. Indeed Luther was so far from any diffidence of this nature, that his adversaries have blamed him for a too great presumption on the other side ; particularly Bellarmin, in his twelfth note, urges against him a prophecy of his, “ that in two years the Papal kingdom should be destroyed :” though this too be a falshood, and was broached by Cochleus, a venomous writer, and one so careless of truth or falsehood, that Sanders himself is not more. But my Author has a great knack at remarks : in the end of this paragraph, he makes another, about “ our refining in the points of Controversy, and coming nearer and nearer still to the Church of Rome.” Now let any man compare Bellarmin’s bold truths, with the softenings of the Bishop of Condom and the Representor, and then tell me on which side this imputation lies. It will appear, I believe, upon this search, that old Popery and new Popery agree no more than the two styles.

We are come now to the last stage of the Pamphlet * ; where we may see how much art is requisite to manage circumstances well. Nothing is less obnoxious to censure than the story of Luther’s death, when entirely told. Yet, as passages are here picked out and wrested, it makes no good appearance. This we have the more reason to take ill of him, because he there quotes Justus

* § 63.

Jonas's account, the most authentic extant; and yet takes but a single circumstance from him in the whole relation. The truth is, no other account bears any credit with us: this was compiled by eye-witnesses, Jonas, Cælius, and Aurifaber; who solemnly invoke God to witness that they have related all things with exact fidelity; and who indeed durst not have done otherwise; since Count Mansfield and several other Persons of quality were present also, and could have confuted them, had they been faulty in any thing. Sleidan has contracted the story from them, and in his words I shall give it you *. Here is first of all no surprize, as the pamphlet tells

* “ Priusquam Islebium perveniret, quod erat sub exitum
 “ Januarii, valetudine utebatur tenuiori; sed tamen & causam
 “ agebat, propter quam erat vocatus, & aliquoties in templo
 “ docebat, percepta quoque cæna Domini. 17 verò die
 “ Februarii cœpit ægrotare gravius ex pectore. Erant cum
 “ eo filii tres, Joannes, Martinus, Paulus, & alii quidam
 “ familiares; in his etiam Justus Jonas, Ecclesiæ Hallensis
 “ minister: & quanquam erat imbecillus, prandit tamen cum
 “ reliquis atque cœnavit: inter cœnandum variis de rebus lo-
 “ cutus, hoc etiam inter cætera rogavit—Num in illa sempi-
 “ terna vita sumus alter alterum recognituri? cumque illi ex
 “ ipso averent scire; quid, inquit, accidit Adamo, &c.—A
 “ cœna quum divertisset precandi causa sicuti consuevit, cœpit
 “ augeri dolor pectoris. Ibi monitu quorundam usus est
 “ cornu monocerotis, ex vino; post, in minori lectulo hypo-
 “ causti per unam & alteram horam, suaviter dormit. Cum
 “ evigilasset, in cubiculum ingreditur, & ad quietem iterum
 “ se componit, & salutatis amicis, qui aderant, Orate, inquit,
 “ Deum, ut Evangelii doctrinam nobis conservet: Pontifex
 “ enim & Concilium Tridentinum dira moluntur. Hæc ubi
 “ dixit, facto silentio, dormit aliquandiu. Sed, urgente vi-
 “ morbi, post mediam noctem excitatus, queritur de pectoris
 “ angustia; & præsentens instare jam vitæ finem, his orantino
 “ verbis Deum implorat: Mi pater cœlestis, Deus, & Pater
 “ Domini

tells us; Luther had early warnings given him by a lingering sickness, and was sensible of his death some time before its approach. Neither happened it amidst all the jollity that is pretended. He had discoursed all that day on divine subjects; had employed his latter days in preaching, and receiving the sacrament; and his breath departed with a prayer. But this prayer had never a "Miserere mei" in it, says the objector. What then? must all good men at their death be tied up to a particular phrase? yet nevertheless it had something equivalent: "Rogo te, mi Domine Jesu Christe, suscipe animam meam," was no assuming expression, but as much a request of mercy as the other. He died calmly too, and with all the easiness of a man falling asleep; not with the "tortura oris," and "dextrum latus totum infuscatum," which we are told of out of Cochleus. The Considerer might be ashamed, after he had professedly disowned that senseless writer through his whole book, to close it up at last with a little piece

"Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Deus omnis consolationis, ago tibi gratias, quod Filium tuum mihi revelasti, cui credidi, quem sum professus, quem amavi, quem celebravi, quem Pontifex Romanus & reliqua impiorum turba persequitur contumelia; rogo te, mi Domine Jesu Christe, suscipe animulam meam. Mi Pater celestis, etiamsi divellor ex hac vita, certo tamen scio, me tecum esse permanfurum in sempiternum, neque posse me tuis ex manibus a quoquam avelli. Non multo post hanc precationem, ubi spiritum suum in manus Domini commendasset semel atque iterum, tanquam dormiturnus paulatim è vita decedit, nullo cum corporis, qui quidem animadverti posset, cruciatu." Sleidan, ad ann. 1546.

This account falls-in exactly with Thuanus's Hist. Lib. II. a writer of the other party; and even Surius himself has given us (Comm. p. 474.) a copy of the prayer.

of

of borrowed malice from him. A thousand such particulars as these might be drawn from Lindanus, Pontacus, Thyrræus, and the rest of that rank crew, who have taken care that neither Luther nor any other Reformer should go down to the grave with honour. Luther had the luck to detect one of these shams whilst living: for even then a story was sent abroad of his death, with all the hideous circumstances imaginable*: but he himself confuted it in writing, and shewed us in this one report what credit may be given to the rest. Yet Bellarmin was so taken with these fooleries, that he has, ridiculously enough, inserted into his notes of the true Church this for one, "the bad ends of its opposers:" and there, with a great deal of formality, tells this story of Luther's death, and twenty more not less extravagant†. But let the Considerer rebuke him for it. His words are, "That the chief authors of sects and heresies have not unfrequently nothing in their life or death exorbitant or monstrous;" which also is a kind hint, that he himself has been committing an impertinence for above an hundred pages together; for it is an observable very easily drawn, I think, from this concession, that "the life and death of a man can be no standard of his doctrine;" which evidently undoes all he has been doing, and puts us in mind once again of the humble-bees and the tinder-boxes.

I have done with his paragraphs; and shall now examine a little his design in writing them. It was, I suppose, to lay a blot upon the Reformation in general, and particularly that of the Church of England. But, first,

* Vide Lonicer. Theatr. p. 240.

† P. 104.

how comes the Church of England to be concerned in what Luther said, or did? Whilst he was pulling down the Papacy in Germany, she was carrying on the same design here at home. She had struggled and heaved at a Reformation, ever since Wickcliff's days, for about one hundred and fifty years together. Her Lollards, as they were called, had all along spoken, written, and died for it. She could not, nevertheless, bring it to the birth till about this time, when the eyes of all Europe began to be opened; then it was that she pushed it forward, and threw off the Pope's yoke, in concert with other Churches. Her proceedings were regular, and by the joint authorities of the state civil and ecclesiastical. If irregularities were done elsewhere, let them answer for them that did them. Whatever Luther's actions at that time might be, they concern us no more than the Historian's flourish about Sultan Selim's conquests does his History of Heresies: they were contemporary indeed, and that is all; for there is no other dependence between them.

But neither is the Reformation in general at all blasted by this method; for let Luther be as bad as he will, yet the doctrine of the Apostles and the Primitive Church is, we hope, never the worse for his preaching it. He pretended to no new revelation: had he done so, it would have been requisite, perhaps, that he should have lived up to it. He only pointed-out some old truths, that had lain hid a great while; and detected some errors, which, in the course of time, had, like rust, overspread Christianity. Here have we nothing to do but to put ourselves upon the search, whether these pretences

pretences of his to antiquity be true or false; for if they be true, it is a confessed point, that they must be listened to, whoever he be that makes them. Idolatry is agreed to be a sin on all sides: should a Jew, therefore, object it to the Church of Rome, as an hindrance of his conversion, she were bound to reform even on this admonition; but where a new Religion is revealed, the case, I confess, is otherwise: there the doctrine itself is in dispute, whether true or false; all aids therefore are to be called in, that may any way assist us in the discovery; and the lives of the revealers may be justly enough set over-against the Revelation, to find whether they agree. Thus, should that bad man Luther have been the first discoverer of errors in the Church, yet his badness would in no wise have prejudiced his discovery. But what now if he were one of the latest protesters against Popery? and even then, but one among many that set about the same work? The objection at this rate lessens very much, and comes to no more than this, that, among a cloud of witnesses, there was one of no very good reputation. And that this is the case, has been proved upon them to a demonstration a hundred times over. Melchior Adam has afforded us the lives of no less than twenty-two Divines, who, immediately before and together with Luther, promoted all the same design. The errors of the Church of Rome were never possessed quietly: we have told them when they came in, and who they were that rose up against them, in every age from the sixth century down to the sixteenth. If any man requires this catalogue, he may find it in White's "True Way to the Church," completely

pletely and learnedly set down * : not to mention Field, Usher, "Catalogus Testium Veritatis," and twenty more. Goldastus's three volumes sufficiently explain the sense of all ages in this point; and Orthuinus Gratius's "Collection of Complaints" lets us know what people's thoughts were, when Luther appeared. He did not awaken the world with new surprising notions, for then they would have suspended their judgements a-while; whereas thousands followed his standard as soon as ever it was advanced: and Melitz, the Apostolic Commissary, owned, that in 1518 (a year after Luther first preached) he found, in his journey from Rome to Saxony, three on Luther's side to one that stood for the Pope †. Luther then was "one of the latest" assertors of truth, and even at that time not single. Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, Carlstad, and many more, were even as early as he, though it is true he signalized himself above the rest, by a peculiar bravery of mind, and an undauntedness in the cause of God, that was little less than miraculous. He "laboured more than "them all," yet still they were his "fellow-labourers in "the Gospel;" and therefore, were the Reformation to be run down by life-writing, yet to think this task is performed by considering the actions of Luther alone, when there were so many, both before and with him, that embarked in the same cause, is the most senseless thing imaginable.

But, further, when the Considerer has managed this argument to the best advantage, he would do well to

* P. 387. edit. Lond. 1620.

† See Sleid. ad ann.

consider too how it returns upon him. Luther, even in the colours he has laid upon him, does not look half so ill as some Popes of theirs, who were his contemporaries. Julius was of a cruel, restless temper, and sacrificed the peace of all Italy to his ambition. Leo the Xth is deservedly infamous for his base prostitution of Indulgences. Paul III. kept a whore openly, and owned it, and advanced a bastard of his to the principality of Parma and Piacenza. Would we ascend higher, to the known names of Hildebrand, Innocent, Boniface, and the rest of those lewd Popes, whom Bellarmin "confesses to have gone in a long train to the Devil," we should quickly find how advantageous Luther's character would appear; and what reason Castilio's painter had to reply upon the Cardinal, who blamed him for putting a little too much colour into St. Peter and Paul's faces: "That it was true, indeed, in their life-time they were pale, mortified men; but that since they were grown ruddy, by blushing at the sins of their successors." Now let any man tell me, why manners are not (as much, nay) more requisite to "an infallible guide," than "a fallible Reformer;" since in the one, we accept the doctrine merely for the man's sake; in the other, the man for his doctrine's sake; especially since the first involves always the latter's character; for infallibility carries along with it the perpetual power of reforming abuses? This holds good then against such as place the last appeal in the Pope: those who take refuge in a multitude, have an Arrian Council to answer for; a Council where the lives of the Fathers were as unorthodox as their principles; and this

in a much higher degree than is pretended upon Luther, if Athanasius's word may be set over-against the Considerer's.

The method then of the Pamphlet is every way insufficient; and let the "spirit of Martin Luther" be as evil as it is supposed to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any one single truth of that Religion he professed. But, to take off all seeming objections, and stop the mouths of the most unreasonable gainfayers, I have examined even this little pretence too; and find, upon a faithful enquiry, that Luther's life was led up to those doctrines he preached, and his death was the death of the righteous. Were I not confined, by the character of an Answer, merely to wipe off the aspersions that are brought, I could swell this book to twice the bulk, by setting out that best side of Luther which our Author, in the picture he has given us of him, has, contrary to the method of painters, thrown into shade, that he might place a supposed deformity or two the more in view. He was a man certainly of high endowments of mind, and great virtues: he had a vast understanding, which raised him up to a pitch of learning unknown to the age in which he lived; his knowledge in Scripture was admirable, his elocution manly, and his way of reasoning with all the subtilty that those honest plain truths he delivered would bear: his thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go through with them: the assurance of his mind was not to be shaken or surprized; and that *παρρησία* of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the Diet at Worms, was such, as

might have become the days of the Apostles. His life^{*} was holy; and, when he had leisure for retirement, severe: his virtues active chiefly, and homilitical, not those lazy sullen ones of the cloyster. He had no ambition but in the service of God: for other things, neither his enjoyment nor wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniences of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin: and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If among this crowd of virtues a failing crept in, we must remember that an Apostle himself has not been irreprovable: if in the body of his doctrine one flaw is to be seen; yet the greatest Lights of the Church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the phrase of the Prophet, and say: "How beautiful
 " upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth
 " glad tidings!" (Isaiah lii. 7. Rom. x. 15.)

* "The late Archdeacon Blackburne (who, in August
 " 1787, with his judgement and powers of mind in extraor-
 " dinary vigour, his eye-sight only much impaired, though
 " not wholly gone, expired without a sigh or groan, in his
 " sleep, as he sat in his chair) had been for a long time laying-
 " in various materials from books and other sources, and had
 " attended much to the works of this Reformer, with a
 " view to have given his life in English; in which he had
 " made some small beginnings. But he was diverted from
 " it at first by another work; and afterwards, by the shock
 " he received from the loss of his second son, Dr. Thomas
 " Blackburne, who was cut off by a fever in his 31st year,
 " and the more, as he depended upon him to complete what-
 " ever he might leave imperfect: to which indeed he was
 " fully equal, being a scholar of fine parts, improved by
 " classical and all other knowledge, besides his eminence in his
 " profession." *Vindiciæ Priestleianæ*, p. 280.

IV. PRE-

IV. PREFACE TO THE SECOND PART OF
WALLER'S POEMS *, 1690.

THE Reader needs be told no more in commendation of these Poems, than that they are Mr. Waller's: a name that carries every thing in it that is either great or graceful in Poetry! He was indeed the Parent of English Verse, and the first that shewed us our tongue had beauty and numbers in it. Our language owes more to him than the French does to Cardinal Richelieu and the whole Academy. A Poet cannot think of him

* " Atterbury was, on the whole, rather a man of ability than a genius. He writes more with elegance and correctness, than with any force of thinking or reasoning. His letters to Pope are too much crowded with very trite quotations from the classics. It is said, he either translated, or intended to translate, the Georgics of Virgil, and to write the life of Cardinal Wolsey, whom he much resembled. Dr. Warburton had a mean opinion of his critical abilities, and of his discourse of the Iapis of Virgil. He was thought to be the Author of the Life of Waller, prefixed to the first octavo edition of that Poet's Works." Dr. WARTON, Essay on Pope, vol. II. p. 436. — This amiable Writer has very evidently confounded the " Life" of Waller, which is a performance every way unworthy the pen of Dr. Atterbury, with the " Preface" here preserved, which undoubtedly was his. Mr. Fenton, from whose quarto edition I now transcribe it, says, " It is generally known to have been written by a person whose fine genius and consummate learning have long rendered him one of the brightest ornaments of our age; and though it was a casual essay, composed in his youth, it is too finished a master-piece for me to have expected either pardon or praise, had I attempted another dissertation." The Preface to a former part, in 1664, is by Waller himself.

without being in the same rapture Lucretius is in when Epicurus comes in his way :

Tu pater, & rerum inventor; tu patria nobis
Suppeditas præcepta: tuisque ex, Inclute! chartis,
Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta;
Aurea! perpetuâ semper dignissima vitâ *!

(Lib. III. 9.)

The tongue came into his hands like a rough diamond: he polished it first; and to that degree, that all artists since him have admired the workmanship, without pretending to mend it. Suckling and Carew, I must confess, wrote some few things smoothly enough: but as all they did in this kind was not very considerable, so it was a little later than the earliest pieces of Mr. Waller. He undoubtedly stands first in the list of refiners; and, for aught I know, last too: for I question whether in Charles the Second's reign English did not come to its full perfection; and whether it has not had its Augustean age, as well as the Latin. It seems to be already mixed with foreign languages as far as its purity will bear; and, as Chemists say of their menstruums, to be quite fated with the infusion. But posterity will best judge of this. In the mean time, it is a surprizing reflection that between what Spenser wrote last, and Waller first, there should not be much above twenty years distance: and yet the one's language, like the money of that

* Thou, Parent of Philosophy, hast shown
The way to truth, by precepts of thy own,
For as from sweetest flowers the labouring bee
Extracts her precious juice; great Soul, from thee
We all our golden sentences derive;
Golden, and fit eternally to live. CREECH.

time,

time, is as current now as ever; whilst the other's words are like old coins, one must go to an Antiquary to understand their true meaning and value. Such advances may a great Genius make, when it undertakes any thing in earnest!

Some Painters will hit the chief lines and master-strokes of a face so truly, that through all the differences of age the picture shall still bear a resemblance. This art was Mr. Waller's: he fought out, in this flowing tongue of ours, what parts would last, and be of standing use and ornament: and this he did so successfully, that his language is now as fresh as it was at first setting out. Were we to judge barely by the wording, we could not know what was wrote at twenty, and what at fourscore. He complains, indeed, of a tide of words, that comes in upon the English Poet, and overflows whatever he builds; but this was less his case than any man's that ever wrote; and the mischief of it is, this very complaint will last long enough to confute itself; for, though English be mouldering stone, as he tells us there, yet he has certainly picked the best out of a bad quarry.

We are no less beholden to him for the new turn of verse which he brought in, and the improvement he made in our numbers. Before his time, men rhymed indeed, and that was all: as for the harmony of measure, and that dance of words which good ears are so much pleased with, they knew nothing of it. Their poetry then was made up almost entirely of monosyllables; which, when they come together in any cluster, are certainly the most harsh untunable things in the

world. If any man doubts of this, let him read ten lines in Donne, and he will be quickly convinced. Besides, their verses ran all into one another; and hung together throughout a whole copy, like the hooked atoms that compose a body in Des Cartes. There was no distinction of parts, no regular stops, nothing for the ear to rest upon; but, as soon as the copy began, down it went, like a larum, incessantly; and the reader was sure to be out of breath before he got to the end of it. So that really verse in those days was but down-right prose tagged with rhymes. Mr. Waller removed all these faults; brought in more polysyllables, and smoother measures; bound up his thoughts better, and in a cadence more agreeable to the nature of the verse he wrote in: so that, wherever the natural stops of that were, he contrived the little breakings of his sense so as to fall-in with them. And for that reason, since the stress of our verse lies commonly upon the last syllable, you will hardly ever find him using a word of no force there. I would say, if I were not afraid the Reader would think me too nice, that he commonly closes with verbs, in which we know the life of language consists.

Among other improvements, we may reckon that of his rhymes: which are always good, and very often the better for being new. He had a fine ear, and knew how quickly that sense was cloyed by the same round of chiming words still returning upon it. It is a decided case by the great Master of writing, "*Quæ sunt am-pla & pulchra, diu placere possunt; quæ lepida & concinna*" (amongst which rhyme must, whether it will or no, take its place) "*citò satietate afficiunt aurium*"

“rium sensum fastidiosissimum*.” This he understood very well; and therefore, to take off the danger of a surfeit that way, strove to please by variety and new sounds. Had he carried this observation, among others, as far as it would go, it must, methinks, have shewn him the incurable fault of this jingling kind of poetry; and have led his later judgement to blank verse. But he continued an obstinate lover of rhyme to the very last: it was a mistress that never appeared unhandsome in his eyes; and was courted by him long after Sacharissa was forsaken. He had raised it, and brought it to that perfection we now enjoy it in: and the Poet's temper (which has always a little vanity in it) would not suffer him ever to slight a thing he had taken so much pains to adorn. My Lord Roscommon was more impartial: no man ever rhymed truer and evener than he; yet he is so just as to confess that it is but a trifle, and to wish the tyrant dethroned, and blank verse set up in its room. There is a third person †, the living glory of our English poetry, who has disclaimed the use of it upon the stage, though no man ever employed it there so happily as he. It was the strength of his genius that first brought it into credit in plays; and it is the force of his example that has thrown it out again. In other kinds of writing it continues still, and will do so till some excellent Spirit arises, that has leisure enough and resolution to break the charm, and free us from the troublesome bondage of rhyming, as Mr. Milton very well calls it; and has proved it as well by what he has wrote in another way.

* Cicero ad Herennium, l. iv.

† Mr. Dryden.

But this is a thought for times at some distance; the present age is a little too warlike; it may perhaps furnish out matter for a good poem in the next, but it will hardly encourage one now*: without prophesying, a man may easily know what sort of laurels are like to be in request.

Whilst I am talking of verse, I find myself, I do not know how, betrayed into a great deal of prose. I intended no more than to put the Reader in mind what respect was due to any thing that fell from the pen of Mr. Waller. I have heard his last printed copies, which are added in the several editions of his poems, very slightly spoken of, but certainly they do not deserve it. They do indeed discover themselves to be his last, and that is the worst we can say of them. He is there,

Jam senior; sed cruda Deo viridisque senectus †.

* Tonson, in his Dedication to Lord Somers, says, that it was his Lordship's opinion and encouragement that occasioned the first appearance of *Paradise Lost* in the folio edition. This assertion Bp. Atterbury (in a MS note on Milton) denies, and says that *He* was the person who first proposed and gave occasion to that publication.—I have not myself seen the note on which this assertion is founded: but it is told me on the recollection of a friend, on whose accuracy the fullest dependance may be placed. The volume in which the note was written was purchased by T. Payne, amongst other books, out of the library of Bishop Warburton, and had probably been given to Pope by Atterbury.—It may not be amiss to observe, that Butler's *Posthumous Works* had also the advantage of being inspected in MS. by Atterbury, as we learn from Mr. Thyer; who, from that circumstance, takes occasion to insinuate a charge of plagiarism against Swift, to whom he supposes Atterbury might have communicated the nature and subjects of the MSS. See Swift's Works, large 8vo, vol. XXIV. p. 596.

† "Though old, still unimpair'd by years."

PITT, Virg. *Æn.* vi. 423.

The

The same censure perhaps will be passed on the pieces of this second part. I shall not so far engage for them, as to pretend they are all equal to whatever he wrote in the vigour of his youth: yet, they are so much of a piece with the rest, that any man will at first sight know them to be Mr. Waller's. Some of them were wrote very early, but not put into former collections, for reasons obvious enough, but which are now ceased. The play was altered to please the Court: it is not to be doubted who sat for the two brothers' characters. It was agreeable to the sweetness of Mr. Waller's temper, to soften the rigour of the tragedy, as he expresses it: but whether it be so agreeable to the nature of tragedy itself to make every thing come off easily, I leave to the Critics. In the prologue and epilogue there are a few verses that he has made use of upon another occasion: but the Reader may be pleased to allow that in him that has been allowed so long in Homer and Lucretius. Exact Writers dress up their thoughts so very well always, that, when they have need of the same sense, they cannot put it into other words, but it must be to its prejudice. Care has been taken, in this book, to get together every thing of Mr. Waller's that is not put into the former collection: so that between both the Reader may make the sett complete.

It will perhaps be contended after all, that some of these ought not to have been published: and Mr. Cowley's decision* will be urged, that "a neat tomb of marble is a better monument than a great pile of rubbish." It might be answered to this, that the pictures and poems

* In the Preface to his Works.

of great masters have been always valued, though the last hand were not put to them. And I believe none of those gentlemen that will make the objection would refuse a sketch of Raphael's, or one of Titian's draughts of the first sitting. I might tell them too what care has been taken by the Learned to preserve the fragments of the antient Greek and Latin Poets: there has been thought to be a divinity in what they said; and therefore the least pieces of it have been kept up and revered like religious reliques. And, I am sure, take away the "mille anni *," and impartial reasoning will tell us there is as much due to the memory of Mr. Waller as to the most celebrated names of antiquity.

But, to waive the dispute now of what ought to have been done, I can assure the Reader what would have been, had this edition been delayed. The following Poems were got abroad, and in a great many hands: it were in vain to expect that, amongst so many admirers of Mr. Waller, they should not meet with one fond enough to publish them. They might have stayed, indeed, till by frequent transcriptions they had been corrupted extremely, and jumbled together with things of another kind: but then they would have found their way into the world. So it was thought a greater piece of kindness to the Author to put them out whilst they continue genuine and unmixed; and such as he himself, were he alive, might own.

* Alluding to that verse in Juvenal, Sat. vii. 38.

—Et uni cedit Homero,

Propter mille annos —

"And yields to Homer on no other score

"Than that he liv'd a thousand years before."

C. DRYDEN.

V. CHA-

V. CHARACTER OF LADY CUTTS*.

THERE is a public homage due to desert, if we take a proper season of paying it; and the Ministers of the Gospel, who are entrusted with so many methods of promoting piety in the world, are, among the rest, entrusted with this, of "giving honour "where honour is due;" and of truly representing to the minds of men such shining patterns of virtue, as are most likely to engage their attention, and provoke their imitation: it is our immediate and particular employment to praise God; and it doth, no doubt, in some measure also belong to us, to praise those that are like him.

And now how shall I enter upon this fruitful argument? What particular of her comprehensive character shall I first chuse to insist on? Let us determine ourselves to begin there where she always began, at her devotions. In these she was very punctual and regular: morning and evening came not up more constantly in their course, than her stated hours of private prayer; which she observed not formally, as a task, but returned

* Lord Cutts was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of George Clark. of London, merchant (relict of John Morley, of Glynd, in Suffex, and after, of John Trevor, esq. eldest brother to the first Lord Trevor). This Lady died in Feb. 1692; and that same year he had both his legs hurt in the battle of Steenkirk. His second wife, the amiable young Peerefs here lamented, was educated under the care of her grand-mother, the Lady Pickering, of Cambridgeshire; was brought to bed of a son, Sept 1, 1697; and died in a few days after, aged only eighteen years and as many days. See p. 121. See also, in vol. I. p. 44, a dedicatory epistle to Lord Cutts, as originally printed in 4to, 1698; and again, in a second edition, the same year; but omitted when the Bishop's Sermons were collected into volumes.

to them always with desire, delight, and eagerness. She would on no occasion dispense with herself from paying this duty; no business, no common accident of life, could divert her from it: she esteemed it her great honour and happiness to attend upon God; and she resolved to find leisure for that, for whatever else she might want it.

How she behaved herself in these secret transactions between God and her own soul, is known to Him alone whom she worshiped; but, if we may guess at her privacies by what was seen of her in public, we may be sure that she was full of humility, devotion, and fervency; for so she remarkably was always, during the time of divine service. Her behaviour was then very devout and solemn, and yet the most decent, easy, and unaffected, that could be; there was nothing in it either negligent and loose, or extravagant and strained: it was throughout such, as declared itself not to be the work of the passions, but to flow from the understanding, and from a clear knowledge of the true grounds and principles of that her reasonable service.

This knowledge she attained by early instructions, by much reading, and meditation (to which she appeared from her childhood to be addicted); and, give me leave to add, by a very diligent and exact attendance on the lessons of piety which were uttered from the pulpit; which no one practised better, because no one delighted in, listened to, or considered more: for at these performances she was all attention, all ear; she kept her heart fixed and intent on its holy work, by keeping her eye from wandering.

It was her misfortune, indeed, that the exemplariness of her behaviour called off the eyes of several to observe it; but more her and their misfortune, that, when they had seen it, and satisfied their curiosity, they did not go on also to imitate it. She often expressed her dissatisfaction at that indecency of carriage which universally prevails in our churches; and wondered that they should be most careless of their behaviour towards God, who are most scrupulously nice in exacting and paying all the little decencies that are in use among men.

When the bread of life was distributed, she was sure to be there, a devout and never-failing communicant; and the strictness of her attention, and the reverence of her behaviour, were, if it were possible, raised and improved on those occasions: the lively image of a crucified Saviour, then exhibited, could not but make very moving impressions on a mind that abounded with so much pious warmth and tenderness.

Books she took pleasure in, and made good use of; chiefly books of divinity and devotion, which she studied and relished above all others. History too had very often a share in her reflections; and sometimes she looked into pieces of pure diversion and amusement, whenever she found them written in such a way as to be innocently entertaining. I need not tell you, to how narrow a choice she was by this means confined.

But of all books, the book of God was that in which she was most delighted and employed; and which was never for any considerable time out of her hands. No doubt she knew, and felt, the great use and sweet influence

influence of it, in calming her mind, and regulating her desires, and lifting up her thoughts towards Heaven, in feeding and spreading that holy flame which the love of God had kindled in her heart, and which she took care by this means to keep perpetually burning.

When she met with any thing there, or in any other pious book, which would be of remarkable use to her in the conduct of her life and affairs, she trusted not her memory with it, not even that excellent memory which she safely trusted with things of lesser moment; but immediately committed it to writing. Many observations of this kind she hath left, drawn from good Authors, but chiefly from those sacred pages; in collecting which, whether her judgement or her piety had the largest share, it is not easy to say.

The passages of Holy Writ, which she took notice of, were indeed commonly such as related either to the concerns of her spiritual estate, or to matters of prudence; but it appears also, that she spent some time in meditating on those places where the sublimest points of Christian doctrine are contained, and in possessing herself with a deep sense of the wonderful love of God towards us, manifested in the mysterious work of our redemption; for she had something more than what, in the language of this loose age, is called "a lady's religion." She endeavoured to understand the great articles of faith, as well as to practise the good rules of life, contained in the Gospel; and she sensibly found, that the best way to excite herself to the practice of the one, was to endeavour to understand the other.

And

And in this book of God she was more particularly conversant on God's day; a day ever held sacred by her, and which therefore always in her family wore a face of devotion suitable to the dignity of it. It was truly a day of rest to all under her roof: her servants were then dismissed from a good part of their attendance upon her, that they might be at liberty to attend upon their great Lord and Master, whom she and they were equally bound to obey. There was such a silence and solemnity at that time observed by all about her, as might have become "the house of mourning;" and yet so much ease and serenity visible in their looks (at least in *her* looks there was) as shewed that they who were in "the house of feasting" were not better satisfied. Thus did she prepare and dispose herself for the enjoyment of that perfect rest, the celebration of that endless sabbath, which she is now entered upon; thus did she practise before-hand upon earth, the duties, the devotions, the customs, and manners of Heaven.

To secure her proficiency in virtue, she kept an **exact** journal of her life; in which was contained the **history** of all her spiritual affairs, and of the several turns **that** happened in her soul; a true, naked, impartial **history**! and yet (which seldom happens in true ones) **such an** one where the person described is not charged **with** many blemishes and failings. Alas for us, that the thread of it was no longer continued!

In this glass she every day dressed her mind; to **this** faithful monitor she repaired for advice and **direction**; compared the past with the present, judged of **what** would be by what had been, observed nicely the
several

several successive degrees of holiness she got, and of human infirmity she shook off; and traced every single step she took onward in her way towards Heaven.

One would have imagined that so much exactness and severity in private should have affected a little her public actions and discourses, and have slid insensibly into her carriage; and yet nothing could be more free, simple, and natural. She had the reality, without the outside and show of strictness: all her rules, all her performances, sat so well and graceful upon her, that they appeared to be as much her pleasure as her duty: she was, in the midst of them, perfectly easy to herself, and a delight to all that were about her; ever chearful in her behaviour, but withal ever calm and even, her satisfaction, like a deep untroubled stream, ran on, without any of that violence or noise, which sometimes the shallowest pleasures do most abound in.

However, chearful and agreeable as she was, she never carried her good humour so far as to smile at a prophane, an ill-natured, or an unmannerly jest; on the contrary, in her highest mirth, it made her remarkably grave and serious. She had an extraordinary nicety of temper as to all the least approaches to faults of that kind, and shewed a very quick and sensible concern at any thing which she thought it did not become either her to hear or others to say.

True piety, which chiefly consists in an humility and submission of mind towards God, is attended always with humility and goodness towards his creatures; and so it was in this excellent Lady. Never was there a more deep and unfeigned and artless lowliness of mind

seen

seen in her rank and station : as far as she was placed above the most of the world, she conversed as it were upon the level with all of them ; and yet, when she stooped the lowest towards them, she took care even at that time to preserve the respect that was due to her from them. She had so much true merit, that she was not afraid of being looked into ; and therefore durst be familiar : and the effect of that familiarity was, that, by being better known, she was more loved and valued. Not only no one of her inferiors ever came uneasy from her (as hath been said of some great ones) ; but no one ever went uneasy to her ; so assured were all beforehand with her sweetness of temper, and obliging reception ! When she opened her lips, gracious words always proceeded from thence, and “ in her tongue was the law of kindness.” Her reservedness, and love of privacy, might possibly be misinterpreted sometimes for an overvalue of herself, by those who did not know her ; but the least degree of acquaintance made all those suspicions vanish. For, though her perfections both of body and mind were very extraordinary, yet she was the only person that seemed, without any endeavour to seem, insensible of them. She was, it is true, in as much danger of being vain, as great beauty and a good natural wit could make her : but she had such an over-balance of discretion, that she was never in pain to have the one seen, or the other heard. Indeed, this was particular to her, and a very distinguishing part of her character, that she never studied appearances, nor made any advances towards the opinion of the world ; being contented to be whatever was good

or deserving, without endeavouring in the least to be thought so; and this, not out of any affected disregard to public esteem, but merely from a modesty and easiness of nature, which made her give way to others, who were more willing to be observed. And yet she had also her hours of openness and freedom, when her soul eased itself to familiars and friends; and then, "out of the good treasure of her heart what good things did she bring forth!" and with what delight was she listened to by those who had the happiness to converse with her! So that a doubt it is, whether she were most to be admired for what she did or for what she did not say. It was wonderful that one who, when she pleased, could discourse so fitly and so freely, should yet chuse to be silent on so many occasions; and it was surprising that she, who was such a lover of silence, should, whenever she spake, charm all that heard her.

We may be sure that, whilst she thus commanded her tongue, she kept as strict and watchful a guard upon her passions; those especially of the rough and troublesome kind, with which she was scarce ever seen to be disquieted. She knew not what the disorders of anger were, even on occasions that might seem to justify, if not to require it: as much as she hated vice, she chose rather to look it out of countenance, than to be severe against it; and to win the bad over to the side of virtue by her example, than by her rebukes.

Her sweet deportment towards those who were with her, could be out-done by nothing but her tenderness in relation to the absent; whom she was sure to think and speak as well of as possible: and when their

character

character was plainly such as could have no good colours put upon it, yet she would shew her dislike of it no otherwise than by saying nothing of them. Neither her good-nature nor her religion, neither her civility nor her prudence, would suffer her to censure any one; she thought she had enough to do at home in that way, without looking much abroad; and therefore turned the edge of all her reflections upon herself. Indeed she spared others as much as if she had been afraid of them, and herself as little as if she had had many faults that wanted mending: and yet it was because she could, after the severest scrutiny, find no great harm in herself, that she could scarce be brought to suspect any in others.

Her conversation might, for this reason, seem to want somewhat of that salt and smartness which the ill-natured part of the world are so fond of; a want that she could easily have supplied, would her principles have given her leave: but her settled opinion was, that the good name of any one was too nice and serious a thing to be played with; and that it was a foolish kind of mirth, which, in order to divert some, hurt others. She could never bring herself to think that the only thing which gave life and spirit to discourse was, to have somebody's faults the subject of it; or that the pleasure of a visit lay in giving up the company to one another's sport and malice by turns. And if these are the chief marks of wit and good-breeding, it must be confessed that she had neither.

With all this goodness, gentleness, and meekness of nature, she had at the same time a degree of spirit and
I 2
firmness,

firmness, unusual in her sex; and was particularly observed to have a wonderful presence of mind in any accident of danger: for innocence and courage are nearly allied; and even in the softest tempers, where the one of these is in perfection, there will, and must be, a good degree of the other.

Shall I say any thing of that innate modesty of temper, and spotless purity of heart, which shone throughout her whole life and conversation; a quality so strictly required of her sex, that it may be thought not so properly commendable in any of them to have it, as infamous to want it? However, in the most common and ordinary graces, there are uncommon heights and degrees; and it was the particular happiness of this Lady, remarkably to excel in every virtue that belonged to her, even in those in which Christians of the lowest attainments do in some degree excel.

Shall I add, that this love of purity was the cause why she banished herself from those public diversions of the town, at which it was scarce possible to be present without hearing somewhat that wounded chaste ears; and for which, she thought, no amends could be made to virtue by any degree of wit or humour with which, perhaps, they might otherwise abound? These good qualities, she knew, served only to recommend the poison, and make it palatable; and, therefore, she thought it a piece of service to other people (who might, perhaps, be influenced by her example) to stand off, though she herself were secured from the infection. This, questionless, was one reason of her allowing herself in those dangerous entertainments so sparingly;

but it was but one of many; she had really neither relish nor leisure for them, nor for a thousand other things which the world miscalls pleasures. Not that she wanted naturally a taste for any thing of this kind; for her apprehension was fine, and her wit very good, and very ready at command, whenever she pleased to exercise it: but she had turned her thoughts so much towards things of use and importance, that matters of mere pleasure grew flat and indifferent to her; she was so taken up with the care of improving her understanding, and bettering her life, in the discharge of the offices necessary to her rank, in the duties of her closet, and the concerns of her family, that she found, at the foot of the account, but little time (and had less mind) to give into those vain amusements.

She did not think it (as, I fear, it is too often thought) the peculiar happiness and privilege of the great, to have nothing to do; but took care to fill every vacant minute of her life with some useful or innocent employment. The several hours of the day had their peculiar business allotted to them (whether it were conversation or work, reading or domestic affairs), each of which came up orderly in its turn, and was, as the wise man speaks (to be sure under her management it was) "beautiful in its season."

And this regularity of hers was free and natural, without formality or constraint; it was neither troublesome to her, nor to those that were near her. When, therefore, any accident intervened, it was interrupted at that time with as much ease as it was at other times practised: for among all her discretionary rules, the

chief was, to seem to have none, and to make those she had laid down to herself give way always to circumstances and occasions.

She wrought with her own hand often, when she could more profitably and pleasingly have employed her time in meditation or books: but she was willing to set an example to those who could not; and she took care, therefore, that her example should be well followed by all that were under her immediate influence: for she knew well that the description of a good wife and a perfect woman in the Proverbs (a description which she much delighted in and often read) was spent chiefly in commending that diligence by which "she looketh well
"to the ways of her household, and eateth not the
"bread of idleness:" and she knew likewise also that the person whose words these are said to be was no less a woman than the mother of King Lemuel.

Diligence and frugality are sisters: and she, therefore, who was so well acquainted with the one, was not likely to be a stranger to the other. She was strictly careful of her expences; and yet knew how to be generous and to abound, when the occasion required it. But of all ways of good management, she liked that the worst which shuts our hands to the poor; towards whom she always shewed herself very compassionate and charitable. Of the other delights with which an high fortune furnished her, she was almost insensible; but on this account she valued it, that it gave her an opportunity of pursuing the several pleasures of beneficence, and of tasting all the sweets of well-doing.
"She delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless,
"and

“and him that had none to help him: the blessing of
“him that was ready to perish came upon her, and she
“caused the widow’s heart to sing.” Very easy, sure,
will this make her audit at the great day of account;
that charity will, doubtless, be allowed to screen her
few infirmities and faults, which is of great efficacy,
sufficient to “cover the multitude of sins.”

In the exercise of this and of all other virtues, she
was wonderfully secret; endeavouring to come up, as
near as she could, to the rule of “not letting her right-
“hand know what her left-hand did.” And this secrecy
of hers she managed so well, that some of the most
remarkable instances of her goodness were not known
till after her death; no, not by him who was partaker
of all her joys and sorrows.

Retirement and privacy she always loved, and there-
fore chose it, when, after the death of a near relation
who had the care of educating her, she was at liberty
to have lived otherwise. From that time to her mar-
riage, which was more than three years, she hid herself
in the country; having an early and settled aversion to
the noise and inconveniences of a town-life; and too
little an opinion of herself, to think that it was so
much the interest of virtue and religion, as it really
was, that she should be known and distinguished.

When, afterwards, she went to Court (as it was ne-
cessary for her sometimes to do) she did it with an air
which plainly shewed that she went to pay her duty
there, and not to delight herself in the pomp and glit-
ter of that place. Had she gone thither soon enough
to see that good and glorious Queen, who was the

ornament of it and of her sex, she had been taken, we may presume, into her intimacy: for their minds were nearly allied, and their characters and manners and ways of life not unlike, allowing for the difference of stations.

I need not, I cannot well, say more of her: and if, therefore, I have fallen short of her character (as I am sensible I have in many parts of it which are here mentioned, and in others which are still left untouched) I desire those particular defects may be supplied from this general account; that she did not a little resemble her who was the pattern of all that is good and amiable in woman-kind.

Whether she had this excellent pattern in her eye, I am not able to say, when, soon after her marriage, she declared to several friends her thoughts, that every woman of quality was as much more obliged, as she was more enabled than other women, to do good in the world; and that the shortest and surest way of doing this was, to endeavour by all means to be as good a Christian, and as good a wife, and as good a friend, as was possible.

She endeavoured to be all this, and she fell not far short of it: for she excelled in all the characters that belonged to her, and was in a great measure equal to all the obligations that she lay under: she was devout, without superstition; strict, without ill-humour; good-natured, without weakness; chearful, without levity; regular, without affectation. She was to her husband the best of wives, the most agreeable of companions, and most faithful of friends; to her servants,
the

the best of mistresses; to her relations, extremely respectful; to her inferiors, very obliging; and by all that knew her, either nearly or at a distance, she was reckoned, and confessed to be, one of the best of women.

And yet all this goodness, and all this excellence, was bounded within the compass of eighteen years and as many days: for no longer was she allowed to live among us. She was snatched out of the world as soon almost as she made her appearance in it; like a jewel of high price, just shewn a little, and then put up again; and we were deprived of her by that time we had learnt to value her. But circles may be complete, though small; the perfection of life doth not consist in the length of it: if it did, our Saviour, to be sure, would not have died so soon after thirty.

Short as her life was, she had time enough to adorn the several states of virginity and marriage; and to experience the sadness of a kind of widowhood too: for such she accounted it, when her Lord was long absent from her, mourned as much, and refused as much to be comforted, till his return.

As her life was short, so her death was sudden; she was called away in haste, and without any warning. One day she drooped, and the next she died: nor was there the distance of many hours between her being very easy in this world, and very happy in another.

However, though she was seized thus suddenly by death, yet she was not surprized; for she was ever in preparation for it; "her loins girt" (as the Scripture speaks), "and her lamp ready trimmed, and burning." The moment almost that she was taken ill, she was just
risen

risen from her knees, and had made an end of her morning devotions. And to such an one a sudden death could be no misfortune. We pray indeed against it, because few, very few, are fit for it; and the Church is to proportion her forms to the generality of Christians: but where a good soul is in perfect readiness, there the sooner the fatal stroke is struck the better; all delays in this case are uncomfortable to the dying, as well as to those friends who survive them:

In truth, she could not be called away more hastily than she was willing to go. She had been used so much to have "her conversation in Heaven," and her soul had been so often upon the wing thither, that it readily left its earthly station upon the least notice from above; and took the very first opportunity of quitting her body, without lingering or expecting a second summons. She stayed no longer after she was called, than to assure her Lord of her entire resignation to the Divine Will, and of her having no manner of uneasiness upon her mind; and to take her leave of him with all the expressions of tenderness. When this was over, she had nothing more to do with her senses; she sunk immediately under her illness, and, after a short unquiet slumber, slept in peace.

Thus lived, and thus died, this excellent Lady, whose character I have so far represented, as my time, and the measure of such discourses as these, would suffer me; and endeavoured to renew a faint image of her several virtues and perfections upon your minds. I have done it in a confused manner, and without the nice divisions of art; for grief is not methodical: it is enough,
if

if I have been able to set before you some resemblance of her, though I should not have done it after the best and liveliest manner: when the life is gone, a picture, drawn even by an unskilful hand, hath its use and value; and those who loved what it doth (however unequally) represent, will be touched at the sight of it.

You all are so, I question not, touched by what hath been said, in various manners, and in different degrees, as your relation to her was nearer or remoter; as you knew more or less of her. But you do not mourn alone; many living there are that do now, and many more there are who shall hereafter, when her character hath spread itself, "lay it to heart." The world hath had a loss, as well as you; true virtue and piety have suffered in her fall; and all, therefore, that have any regard for these, shall bear a part with you in your sorrows.

The consideration of what she was, which afflicts you, should much rather cheer and revive you: had she not been so good a woman, you would with more reason have bewailed her. But why should you continue to mourn for one who is entered upon a state of unspeakable joy? why should you be dejected at her advancement?

She is gone to the place where all tears are wiped from her eyes; where there is no more death, nor sorrow, nor crying: she is gone, and her works have followed, and will follow her, to her great and endless advantage. God grant that, when we also follow her, we may do it with as little surprize, and as much cheerfulness!

VI. ADDRESS

VI. ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF St. BRIDE'S PARISH *.

I HAVE largely explained to you the duty of living peaceably, and shewn you some of the most effectual methods of performing it. Would to God all that hear me this day would resolve to practise this plain but useful lesson as fully as I have handled it, and give a remarkable instance of their compliance with the direction of the text †, in the choice that is now coming before you; wherein, I fear, there will be but too much occasion given of trying how far these considerations have had their due weight with you, and made a deep and becoming impression upon you.

Seven years ‡ I have from this place admonished, exhorted, besought you: what success these labours of mine have had, He knows best, for whose glory they were designed. It will be one sure and comfortable sign to me that they have had some, if it shall appear that the words I have spoken to you to-day are not in vain; if they shall prevail with you, in any measure, to avoid those rocks which are usually split upon in elections, where multitudes of different inclinations, capacities,

* From an admirable Farewell Sermon, Dec. 11, 1698.

† "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Rom. xii. 18.

‡ The date of this Sermon may in some measure fix the time of his taking orders, which his biographers seem not to have known. It appears by his letter to his father that he was not in orders in October 1690; and it appears by this Sermon that he was Lecturer of St. Bride's in 1691. He preached before the Queen at Whitehall, May 29, 1692.

and judgements, are interested. To which end, let me entreat you that, since in these cases unanimity and an entire agreement of hearts and voices is not to be expected, you would at least take care to disagree in as decent and friendly and Christian a manner as is possible.

Let not your zeal for any one man's character ever draw you to load, and depreciate, and vilify another! Take not up slight reports to men's disadvantage; spread them not, encourage them not, listen not with greediness to them.

Let it be enough that the unsuccessful lose what they seek after, an opportunity of exercising among you that talent in divine instructions wherewith God has enabled them. Let them not lose also, as far as in any of you lies, their good name, that great engine of doing good, by which their labours must be made effectual to other persons, in other places; and which as far as any of you shall endeavour to deprive them of, so far will you endeavour to obstruct the influence of their doctrine, and to make their character useless.

Remember, I beseech you, that your holy contention is, about a Minister of the Gospel of Christ; carry it not on by a violation of any rules of the Gospel: those rules, for the breach of which, if he be a good man (as I question not he will be), he will not thank you, nay will be obliged by his very post to reprove you afterwards.

I speak not this to accuse any of you, as if any of these methods had been already practised: but knowing how the passions of men, not under the strong checks and

re-

restraints of grace, are apt to work on these occasions, as becomes me, I warn you.

Set an example to the rest of the parishes of this ample city, in the management of such elections as these; reform the disorders that (God knows) too often attend them. Manifest to the world the reasonableness of your having an interest in chusing your Preachers, by the fit and laudable manner in which you make use of it. Be not too stiff and peremptory in your opinions: let those who are (or should be) conscious of their not having all the advantages requisite towards determining their choice in these things, defer somewhat to the judgement of such as are, perhaps, somewhat better qualified for it: they must judge for themselves indeed, as their souls are concerned; but let them judge with humility and modesty.

Should some little heats arise while the dispute lasts, when it is over I am confident they will vanish; and all of you will join in paying that person you shall pitch upon the esteem due to his function and to his station here; and which, I take this opportunity of telling the world, I have truly received from you.

However, though I have no reason in any respect to complain of my entertainment among you, yet nothing would please me better than to hear that your respect and love was, in every instance, increased towards him that is to succeed me; because nothing can be a better evidence of your sincerity in religion, and of your growth in it, than when you grow also in your sincere regards to those who, in a particular manner, belong both to that and you. And it is an infallible sign that
the

the truths of the Gospel have not made the impression upon a man's heart and conscience which they ought to do, when the Preachers of the Gospel have not had that share in his esteem which belongs to the usefulness and dignity of their sacred employment.

And this I take to be so universal a rule, as to admit of no exception; at least, I am sure, I never met with any. And it is therefore my hope, I say, that you will always shew yourselves to be a religious people, and under the influence of good principles, by your behaviour towards those whose business it is to watch over you for good; which will be one way, I am sure, of securing to yourselves a succession of able and worthy men, as may adorn this place equally by their lives and doctrines, and be a lasting honour and advantage to those who chuse them.

As for myself, with how great imperfection I have performed my duty here, and how far short I have fallen of the important trust committed to me, of instructing and guiding you in the ways of virtue, nobody can be more sensible of than I am. However, thus much I take leave to say, that in simplicity and godly sincerity I have preached the Gospel of Christ among you; directing my discourses always against those vicious principles and practices which to me seemed most to prevail; and sparing nothing I observed to be amiss in you, out of regard to men's persons or opinions, or to any worldly consideration whatever.

The infidelity of the age has forced me to dwell often on the great articles and mysteries of our faith, and to explain them largely: but I call God to witness, that I

never proposed any explication of these points, never recommended any thing of this kind to your belief, but what I firmly, and from the bottom of my heart, believed myself. The faith I have delivered to you, the faith of the Church of England, into which we were all baptized, is, I am entirely satisfied, the same that was once delivered to the Saints: I hope, none of you will be ever invited, by the specious arts and insinuations of heresy, to depart from it. I am sure, the profession of it in all its branches and members is what, by the grace of God, I intend to live and die in.

The Church you are of is, without doubt, the purest and foundest, the most reasonable and moderate Church upon earth; the nearest to the primitive pattern of any, and the most serviceable to our improvement in virtue and godliness: reverence her, I beseech you, in proportion to her worth; quit not her communion for any boasts to more pure and spiritual worship, nor for the amusements of a more glorious and splendid one; for the pretences of those men who make reason their God without taking in revelation for their guide, or for the extravagant follies and freaks of enthusiasm.

As a sign of your unfeigned respect for her constitution, resort often to her service, and let your outward behaviour there speak your inward devotion: frequent her sacraments; listen to her instructions from the pulpit; breed up your children in the knowledge of her Articles of Religion; season them early with a due value for her doctrine and discipline; and satisfy yourselves that this is one of the best legacies you can leave them.

This

This is what I have always inculcated to you; and, had the providence of God continued me longer among you, should have gone on to inculcate still. I can only hereafter wish it, and pray for it; which I shall not fail to perform.

Indeed my particular employment here now ceases; but my relation to you, I trust, never shall: I shall always cherish the memory of it, and reflect gratefully upon it, reckoning myself yours in some measure, even after my ministerial office here is at an end, and being ready to serve any, even the meanest of you, in all the Christian duties and services of which I am capable.

“And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and
“to the word of his grace, which is able to build you
“up, and to give you an inheritance among them that
“are sanctified*.” And may “the God of peace”
(that peace to the practice of which I have now been
exhorting and persuading you), may “the God of peace,
“who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus,
“that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood
“of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every
“good work to do his will; working in you that which
“is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to
“whom be glory for ever and ever †.” Amen.

* Acts xx. 32.

† Heb. xiii. 20.

VII. "THE POWER OF THE LOWER HOUSE
 "OF CONVOCATION TO ADJOURN ITSELF,
 "VINDICATED FROM THE MISREPRESENTATIONS
 "OF A LATE PAPER, INTITULED,
 "A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE
 "COUNTRY, CONCERNING THE PROCEEDINGS
 "OF THE PRESENT CONVOCATION*."

IT is the uneasiest thing in the world to be forced upon a dispute with such persons as we esteem and revere: and yet this is the hard fate of the Lower Clergy in Convocation; who have found themselves obliged either to contend with their Bishops for the Rights of their House, or to give up the Constitution of an English Synod, and betray the trust lodged in them by the Clergy of the Province.

They had hopes, however, that the scene of this dispute might have lain entirely within themselves; and therefore, though they were not insensible of the advantage of an early appeal to the world, in a cause where truth was so much on the one side, and power on the other, yet they forbore to make use of that advantage; expecting that time, and farther searches, would either have convinced their Lordships where the right lay, or at least have suggested to them some expedient for the amicable accommodating this difference, without a recourse to the publick.

* First published Aug. 16, 1701. See Vol. I. p. 97.

But in this, as well as in several other their most reasonable expectations, the Clergy find themselves deceived; my Lords the Bishops having suffered a vindication of their proceedings and pretensions to be made public; and by that means set the Members of the Lower House loose from those restraints which they had hitherto thought themselves in decency bound to observe. Whether this conduct be agreeable to their Lordships' high wisdom, or of real service to their cause, a little time will shew.

The Paper which contains their vindication begins with a complaint of "imperfect accounts," and "lame, "unaccurate representations" of things, dispersed by Letters into the country; and this Letter itself hath unhappily added to the number of them: the relation there given of the proceedings of Convocation being not only lame and imperfect in several points of moment, which it has either concealed or disguised, but inconsistent with truth also in some chief circumstances of it; as will evidently appear, when a full and distinct account of the several steps taken by either House, throughout the course of this dispute, shall be given to the world. In the mean time, it may not be amiss to furnish the Reader with one instance of this kind, by which he may make a judgement of the sincerity of the Writer of this Letter.

The dispute between the Two Houses concerning the power of adjournment took its rise from the words "in hunc locum" in the Archbishop's schedule of adjournment; by which his Grace conceived the

Lower Clergy obliged to meet the Bishops, not only at the time, but place also, to which he adjourned : and therefore, in several of his schedules, to the words "in hunc locum," he added these others, "vulgò vocat' Jerusalem Chamber;" which were to explain and determine the sense of the former. By this scheme, the Lower Clergy were expected to attend at the Jerusalem Chamber every morning, with their Prolocutor at the head of them, before they could meet in their own House, and say prayers : and the Archbishop's adjournments being usually to any time between the hours of eight and eleven, and his Grace and the Bishops therefore at liberty to chuse the first or the last minute of that term to meet in ; consequently the Prolocutor and Clergy were bound to wait all that time, in a place no way convenient for such an attendance, and at a very rigorous season. This doctrine was as unreasonable, as the practice was unprecedented; and yet the Lower House, to shew their inclinations to peace, contented themselves with appointing a Committee to examine precedents, and submitted to it in the interim, with a *salvo jure*. Upon search, it appeared that this pretence was altogether novel and groundless, and the Clergy therefore returned in some time to their ancient practice; but not with the express consent of the Upper House, in respect of whom this dispute remains still undetermined : for though, in his Grace's schedules, the explanatory words, "vulgò vocat' Jerusalem Chamber," were afterwards omitted ; yet the obligation of the Lower Clergy to attend there every day, by virtue of the words "in hunc locum," was never formally disclaimed by the Bishops;

Bishops ; nor can it, consistently with the present scheme they are upon, be ever disclaimed by them. This leading and as yet undecided question might, one would have thought, have been mentioned somewhere in an "Account of the Proceedings of the present Convocation." But it would have manifested to the world what a degree of servitude my Lords the Bishops endeavoured from the very entrance of this Convocation to impose upon the Clergy ; and their Advocate therefore dextrously slipped over it.

But the artifices of this Paper, which are very many, may probably be the subject of some other pen ; and therefore I have given the Reader only a taste of them ; resolving to confine myself, in what follows, to the consideration of one single point, the point of adjournments. Upon which, I shall, first, briefly state the difference at present depending between the Two Houses ; I shall then shew the grounds and reasons, which induced the Lower House to conclude that they had an unquestionable right of adjourning themselves ; and, after that, take off the prejudices raised against this right, and the arguments made use of to invalidate the claim of it.

The true state of the difference, when freed from those incidental disputes with which it may be perplexed, is plainly this ; whether the adjournment of the Lower House of Convocation be included within that which is made in the Upper, and which wants only to be transmitted, and signified below, in order to take place there ? or, whether it be an act of the Lower House itself, springing from its own intrinsic authority ? In other words, where the proper seat of that power is,

by which the Lower House is adjourned? whether in the House itself, or in my Lord Archbishop, acting either by his own sole authority, or with the consent of the Suffragans of his Province? I take it to be clear, that the seat of this power of adjourning the House is in the House itself, for these following reasons.

1. The very terms of this question, one would think, should be sufficient to decide it. The doubt is, whether the Lower House of Convocation have the power of adjournment? A doubt, which answers itself: for, if it be an House, it must have such a power. Three things there are, as I apprehend, necessarily involved in the notion of an House, and inseparable from it: a right of separate debate; a right of disagreeing to the proposals of some other House; and, in order to the managing such debates, and framing such resolutions, a right of sitting and rising at discretion, that is, of adjourning itself. The want of any of these three rights, particularly of the last, destroys the nature of an House, and defeats the ends of it. For to what purpose is the right of separate debate and final dissent vested in a Body, who are to be at the mercy of that other Body, from which they are allowed to dissent as to the time of their session, and liable to be interrupted by them in all their debates and proceedings? This is allowing the Clergy a negative as to the end, but not as to the means which are necessary to come at that end. It is acknowledging a privilege to belong to them independently of the Upper House, and yet making them to depend on the Upper House for the exercise of this privilege: as if it were not all one not to have a thing, and not to be

be at liberty to use it ! These are no airy speculations, but reasonings drawn from the known nature of the thing discoursed of : the notion of an House being as distinct and determined, and as well understood by us, in the political, as in the common and ordinary sense of the word, upon the account of the constitution of our Parliaments. It is true, we are told that there is no arguing from " a parity in constitution between a Parliament and a Convocation *." I grant there is not in all cases, but surely in some there is ; and particularly wherever the constitution of the one is known to be derived from, and adapted to, that of the other ; as the case is in respect of the division of the Convocation into Two Houses. This particular frame of an English Synod was, doubtless, taken from the model of an English Parliament ; because no Synods in the world, but English ones, are so constituted : and therefore the argument from " parity of constitution " must thus far be allowed to hold ; that, since the distinction of the Convocation into Two Houses was borrowed from the Parliament, those Houses must be truly and properly such in the Parliamentary meaning of the term. Not that the Two Houses of Convocation must needs, upon this bottom, have exactly the same rights and privileges with those of Parliament ; in this there may be a great variety : but all those rights and privileges, that are absolutely and indispensably necessary to the being of an House (in the Parliamentary sense of the word) they must have, by virtue of their origin and alliance : and these can be no fewer, I have said, than

* Letter, p. 2. col. 1.

the right of separate debate, of a negative, and of adjournment.

The true way, therefore, of cutting this dispute short would be, to deny the Lower Clergy, even after the choice and approbation of their Prolocutor, to be an House. This was much thought of, and talked of, at the beginning of the debate, while some of the disputants were as yet raw in their knowledge of such matters: but a little search and reflection convinced them that this post was not to be maintained; and therefore they have quitted it. It is possible, however, when they are driven out of all their other pretences, that they may once again recur to this; when they do, an effectual answer shall be given to it.

2. The authority by which the Convocation meets is another consideration of great use to clear up this point; it is now purely Royal: the words of the act are express in the case; "which shall always be assembled by authority of the King's writ." The statute says not, that the Clergy shall never assemble without the authority of this writ; but that they shall always assemble by it; so that, since this statute, the Archbishop's share in convening them is not authoritative, but ministerial. And when, therefore, he frames his mandate upon the King's writ, he does it (to use a word which the Paper mightily delights in) as the King's Instrument only, and the proper officer who is to execute the royal summons. Accordingly, in the preambles of the Clergy's grants, in the King's proroguing writs, and in his letters patents of licence or ratification, the Convocation is constantly said to be called and held by his
autho

authority alone, without any mention of the Archbishop's; and in some of these the King styles it always "our Convocation," as the Archbishop frequently named it his before the act of submission, but never since. It is true, the Bishops' several returns for the Convocation are still made to the Archbishop: but how? in order to be lodged in the Registry of his See, the proper repository for the Convocation-returns, as the Chancery is for those of Parliament. And these returns are all made in virtue of the King's writ of summons, which they do or should recite; not at all in virtue of the Archbishop's mandate, any further than it executes this writ; and imply, therefore, no summoning power in the Archbishop, but what is purely ministerial. The argument arising from hence is, that his Grace having now no authority to convene the body of the Clergy, neither can he have any authority to *prorogue*, *adjourn*, or *continue* them (words which, in Convocation language, signify the same thing); because the authority of proroguing is purely founded in, and derived from, the authority of convening. This is clear, both from the reason of the thing, and from the words of the statute, compared with subsequent practice. The statute ascribes to the King, in express terms, a power only of assembling the Clergy; and yet from thence the Crown has constantly claimed and exercised a power also of proroguing and dissolving them; the two last of these powers being in law and reason the natural and necessary result of the former. It is strange, therefore, that the Writer of the sheet, who saw, and owns, that the act "affects the Archbishop, as President, in his authority of calling

“ling and dissolving a Convocation,” should not perceive that it affects him equally in his authority of proroguing it; when those very words of the act, which transfer the authority of calling Synods upon the King, transfer also the authority of proroguing them; and must therefore affect the Archbishop’s power in the one respect, as well as in the other; what the Crown gains in this case being built purely on what the Archbishop loses.

I know it may be said, that the power of proroguing, lodged in the Crown by the act, relates only to extraordinary prorogations at the end of every session of Parliament, when the King dismisses that and the Convocation together: but that still the ordinary adjournments, or prorogations from day to day, or week to week, are left in the Archbishop. But there is no foundation for such a distinction; for the power of proroguing, whether ordinary or extraordinary, whether to near or distant days, is one and the same, and equally derived from the original power of assembling: so that, if the Clergy are not now assembled into a Body by the Archbishop’s power, they can no more, by his power, be prorogued as one Body, for a day, than for a year; the shortness or length of the interval making no difference as to the nature of the power.

But we are told, that “His Majesty entrusts the ordinary power of prorogation with the Archbishop, till he by a royal one thinks fit to interpose*”; and this is proved from a clause in the King’s writ of prorogation, where, after specifying the time to which the Archbishop is commanded to prorogue the whole Convocation, it immediately adds, ‘cum prorogatione

* Letter, p. 3. col. 2.

“et continuatione locorum et dierum prout convenit.””
 The sheet-writer doth not express himself here with his usual clearness; and indeed it was convenient to involve this proof in a little obscurity, in order to cover the weakness of it. The plain truth is this: The King, in his writ of prorogation, commands the Archbishop, “quod præsentem convocationem hoc instante die usque
 “ad et in [13 Feb.] apud [S. Paul.] debito modo pro-
 “rogetis, ibidem nunc tenendam et proseguendam, unà
 “cum prorogatione et continuatione locorum et dierum
 “prout convenit:” which is as much as to say, that he should prorogue the assembly to a certain time and place, then and there to meet and be held, with such further continuations of time and place as should be thought convenient. There is an intimation in this clause, that the Synod, when the term to which it is prorogued expires, may possibly sit and act upon ordinary adjournments; but by whose authority these adjournments are to be made, the writ has no design or occasion to tell us. In truth, it seems to be purposely so framed, as to avoid that point; for otherwise, had the writ intended “to entrust the ordinary power of
 “prorogation with the Archbishop,” as the sheet speaks, it would, after the words “unà cum prorogatione et
 “continuatione locor’ et dier’,” have added, “per vos
 “fiendâ,” or terms equivalent; whereas these adjournments being to be made, not by the Archbishop’s authority, but by each House apart, the expression of them is left at large in the writ, both here and elsewhere: for in the same manner the preamble of it also is remarkably contrived, which recites how the Convocation,

“ de mandato nostro per breve nostrum jam nuperrimè
 “ inchoata et celebrata, post diversas prorogationes de
 “ die in diem, et de loco in locum factas, continuata
 “ fuerat ad et usque” such a day; “ eodemque die
 “ per aliud breve nostrum prorogata fuerat ad et usque”
 such a day. Here is express mention made of the authority by which the Convocation was summoned first, and extraordinarily prorogued afterwards; but by what authority the intermediate adjournments of it were made is not said, because really no one authority made them. In short, this passage in the King’s writ of prorogation has no other meaning, than it hath in the forms of the Clergy’s procuratorial letters for the Parliament; many of which I have seen between the years One Thousand four hundred, and One Thousand five hundred, ordering their Proctors to appear in a Parliament at such a time and place to be held, “ cum continuatione
 “ et prorogatione dier’ subsequent’;” or, “ dier’ tunc
 “ sequent’ et locor’.” Which words were to empower them, not only to meet at the time and place appointed, but to sit on, upon adjournments, as long as the Parliament lasted; but cannot be conceived to carry in them any implication of the authority by which the Parliament was to be adjourned; because then, as now, the several Houses or parts of Parliament were adjourned separately by their own act, till the King interposed finally to prorogue or dissolve the whole body.

The comment, therefore, advanced on these words in the writ is ridiculous; it is, moreover, inconsistent with the scheme of those who advance it, which supposes the Archbishop to have in himself the power of adjourning
 the

the Convocation ordinarily ; and what need, therefore, is there that the King should entrust him by writ (as the Author of the sheet says he does) with a power which, according to that Writer, he hath already ? or, if the Archbishop hath not such a right till the King entrusts him with it, how comes he to have a right to the exercise of it, from the time that the Convocation sits down, till it is prorogued by Royal writ ? For, if we look into the King's original writ of summons to the Archbishop, we shall find no such entrusting words in it.

A late Writer * indeed (who, even since he was made a Member of the Lower House of Convocation, hath taken the liberty publicly in print to oppose the powers and practice of it) observes, that “ the Archbishop, in
“ his mandate to the Bishop of London for convening
“ the other Bishops and Clergy of the Province, takes
“ care to assert his due authority of altering the place and
“ time of sitting, as he shall see occasion, by the words
“ ‘ compareant coram nobis, &c. in Eccl. Cath. D.
“ Pauli Lond. (dicto die) cum continuatione et proroga-
“ tione dier’ extunc sequent’ et locor’ si oporteat.” That these words carry no such sense as this in them, I have shewn already, and the producer of them might have known from several forms of that very mandate he vouches ; wherein we find the Cathedral and Diocesan Clergy commanded by the Archbishop to appear “ per sufficientes procuratores, habentes in câ
“ parte auctoritatem, potestatem, et mandatum, suffi-
“ ciens continuationi et prorogationi dier’ extunc
“ sequent’ et locor’, si oporteat consensendi ;” and

* Kennet, Occasional Letter, p. 55.

then follows the passage, "*compareant coram nobis,*" &c. which Dr. Kennet transcribes. From this clause in the mandate, thus entirely and fairly cited, it appears that the ordinary adjournments of the two Houses of Convocation were no despotic acts of the Archbishop's power, but to be exercised by common consent: for why else should the Proctors be directed to bring up an express power of consenting to such adjournments; but that, without their consent (that is, without the consent of the majority of their Body), no such adjournments could be made?

And this, with what has been said before on the same head, leads us to a true state of the point of adjournments, which is as follows. The adjournment of any Body must either be the act of him by whose authority it is assembled, or the act of the Body itself; and, consequently, the whole Convocation cannot be adjourned or prorogued, but by the King's order, or its own consent. The King never interposes to adjourn or prorogue the Convocation, but when he at the same time adjourns or prorogues the Parliament. The intermediate adjournments of Convocation, therefore, must be at the will of the Body; expressed either apart, in the several Houses of it, by a majority of voices in each; or, when the Two Houses shall be together, by a joint consent of the whole: for thus, I find, the matter passed in the great affair of Anne of Cleve, A. D. 1540, when the Two Houses and the Two Provinces acted together for several days. In the exact process of that transaction, still remaining, it is said: "*Omnibus Prælati et Clero prædictis insimul in Domo capitulari*"

“capitulari convenientibus, Reverendissimus—de consensu omnium tunc ibidem interessentium, eandem Synodum continuavit usque ad et in,” &c. ; and after that, “Continuata fuit tunc ibidem Synodus hujusmodi per dictum Reverendissimum—de consensu totius Synodi prædictæ ;” and again, “Continuata fuit Synodus hujusmodi rursus usque ad et in—per dictum Reverendissimum—de consensu consimili Synodi prædictæ.” And thus also I take the case to be in the adjournments of Convocation, previous to its being formed into Two distinct and regular Houses ; however they may run in the name of the Archbishop, or of the Archbishop and his Suffragans (as, I think, they sometimes do), yet they include and suppose the consent of the Lower Clergy then present when these adjournments are made.

Upon the whole, it appears that they who plead for his Grace's power of proroguing the whole Convocation do, in his behalf, advance not only an unwarrantable, but a dangerous claim : for, if the several authorities of assembling and proroguing (in an arbitrary manner, without consent of the Body) mutually infer each other, as the act of submission, and the reason of the thing, seem manifestly to imply ; it should be considered, whether the Archbishop's proroguing the whole Convocation by his own power would not involve a claim of assembling it also by his own power ; which with what pains and penalties it is attended, the statute informs us.

3. Another way of proving the power of adjournments to be in the Lower House is, from the sitting of Committees, by the sole authority of the House, in the intervals

intervals of its sessions. That the inferior Clergy have appointed such Committees without so much as acquainting the Bishops with it; that these Committees have accordingly sat, and done business, when the Convocation was up; is so manifest, as to admit no denial, and to need no proof. Now the Lower House was certainly at liberty to have sat at these times, when it ordered such Committees to sit: for this I take to be a sure and self-evident rule, that no Committee of any Body can sit by authority of that Body, but when the Body itself might have sat if it pleased. The Committee subsists by a power derived from the House; and if the House therefore cannot sit when the Committee doth, it communicates a power which it hath not in itself. The practice of the Two Houses of Parliament makes this plain; which never act by Committees, but when they could at the same moment have acted as Houses if they had thought fit; and never, therefore, appoint such Committees upon a prorogation, because then their power of acting as Houses determines, and consequently their power of deputing others to act for them. Nay, when the King adjourned the whole Parliament by commission, or otherwise (as in elder times he frequently did), no Committee of either House could sit, because the Houses were not adjourned by their own authority; and the Committee of an adjourned House can sit by no authority but that which adjourned it. Thus the Judges and Attorney-general declared upon a debate in the House of Lords, May 31, 1621: and to their opinion, as justifiable both by reason and precedents, the Lords and the King afterwards agreed*.

* See the Journals of the House of Lords.

If then the Archbishop, by himself, or with his Suffragans' concurrence, adjourns the whole Convocation, no Committee of the Lower House can sit, at their own appointment, during such adjournments; which yet they have often indisputably done: and when therefore they did so, did it upon a supposition that the power of adjourning was in themselves, and not in the Archbishop. And this supposition was then allowed on all hands: for otherwise some foot-steps would have been left of the Upper House's questioning the right of the Lower in this respect, which is far from being the case: for, though there are repeated instances of this practice below in divers successive Convocations, yet is there no appearance that ever the least exception was taken to it above; no, not in this Convocation itself, in which the Lower House was not permitted quietly to exercise any one right which the Upper could have any handle or colour to dispute with them. But,

4. Let us suppose the power of adjourning the whole Synod to be in the Archbishop, and consider a little the absurd and mischievous consequences attending this supposition: for at this rate his Grace's power over the Convocation, when formed, will be greater than what the Crown itself ever practised, which prorogues or adjourns the Convocation with the Parliament only; but leaves it to sit, or not to sit, at intermediate times, as it sees best: whereas his Grace, by this scheme, hath it in his power to quash even these intermediate sessions, and to prevent the dispatch of all manner of business: for he can adjourn the whole Synod to what distant day

he pleases; and, when they are re-assembled, can dismiss them again as soon as he pleases; and thus is possessed of an authority which can defeat the very ends of the Assembly, and the intentions of the King's summons; an authority which the Constitution cannot be supposed to have lodged in any single hand, as carrying in it too great a check upon the Royal Supremacy, and giving him that is invested with it a power of legally destroying the Constitution itself; that is, of rendering it useless and impracticable, as far as Synods are concerned. So that when any future Prince shall arise, who hath thoughts of subverting our Church-establishment, and knows that the first and largest step towards it is by suppressing Convocations, he hath nothing to do, for the attainment of this end, but only to make an Archbishop who shall be ready to exert his adjourning power as directed, and by that means to prevent all opposition that may arise from the united councils of the Clergy to the new measures and models intended. Let it not be said that these are chimerical fears and reasonings upon distant dangers, because at present we have a Primate, who would be more moderate in the use of his power, and truer to the sacred trust reposed in him. I doubt not but he would: however, the question is, not what this or that Archbishop will do, but what any Archbishop, cloathed with such a power, may do if he pleases. A good man may have a very ill successor; and when that comes to pass, the interests of the whole Clergy of the Province will be in the hands of one who may possibly be in the hands of somebody else, that is neither a friend to their religion nor their order.

order. It is, I confess, to me utterly inconceivable, that our Constitution, which hath so little of arbitrary power in its other branches, should have so much of it in this; or that in an English Synod, formed upon the platform of an English Parliament, any one member, or part of it, however dignified or distinguished, should have such an absolute disposal of the rights and liberties of all the rest. If this be the case, our Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution are so far from being uniform, and of a piece, as they have hitherto been thought, that they are two of the most jarring, incompatible schemes of Government in the world.

Hitherto I have made good what I proposed from some general reasonings only, which yet I take to be surely founded in the nature and tendency of the things discoursed of; and, when they are so, such arguments must be allowed their due weight and force, and are the rather to be admitted in the present case, where we are under a great want of precedents, by reason of the loss of most of the Act-books of either House of Convocation. However, if the few facts and forms, still left on the Journals, did evidently contradict these reasonings, I should think that, as cogent as they seem to be, they ought to be given up. But, in truth, what remains of this kind is so far from contradicting, that it fully confirms them; as I shall now shew, by considering,

5. The forms and methods of adjournment practised in the Lower House of Convocation. There are but three books belonging to this House left: one of the years 1586 and 1588; another of the year 1640; and a third of that Convocation which sat with the long Parliament after the

Restoration; and in every one of these books, there are several instances, wherein the very style of adjournment shews the power of adjourning to be lodged in the Lower House itself.

The phrase of the Lower House book in 1586, to express the continuations of that House, frequently is, "Dominus Prolocutor continuavit hujusmodi Convocationem quoad hanc domum usque ad," &c.; particularly in the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th, 10th, and 11th Sessions we meet with it.

In the book of 1640, sometimes the expression is, "Dominus Prolocutor—continuavit ulteriorem Sessionem usque ad et in," &c. as at the 29th of November. Sometimes, "Domini," meaning the Members of the Lower House "prorogarunt usque ad et in;" thus it runs in the Sessions of April 25. April 29. Dec. 5. Dec. 12. and Dec. 16. Sometimes, "Domini continuarunt," as Dec. 9. Dec. 19. Dec. 23. Sometimes, "Domini prorogarunt ulteriorem Sessionem usque ad," &c. as Nov. 21. Sometimes, "Prelati" (meaning still the Lower House Members) "continuarunt ulteriorem Sessionem," as Dec. 2. Sometimes, "Domini continuarunt et prorogarunt ulteriorem Sessionem usque ad," &c. See Sess. May 2. Sometimes it is only, "Continuarunt ulteriorem Sessionem usque ad," &c. (See Sess. Nov. 11.) Or, "Prorogarunt Sessionem usque ad," &c. (See Sess. Nov. 5.), without any express mention of the continuers or proroguers. And at other times, the words are only, "Sessio fuit prorogata usque ad," &c.; April 24. May 5. May 8. May 13. May 15. May 16. Jan 27. All which repeated expressions and instances, so favourable to the Lower House's power of adjourning

ing itself, are in the Letter * thus succinctly abridged.
 "In 1640, the minutes make mention of the 'Domini
 "continuanter";" which, whether it be a fair summing
 up of the evidence, is left to the Reader.

It is very remarkable here, that though the pen
 of the Actuary has delivered itself with great variety,
 yet is there no one form of speech used by him any
 where, to express the separate adjournment of the
 Lower House, which supposeth the Archbishop or Bi-
 shops to be any way concerned in it. Indeed the Sheet
 excepts against these instances, as "fetched not from
 "registers, but some short, confused minutes, taken for
 "the assistance of the memory, in the substance only
 "of what passed, and no rule therefore in points of
 "form." But is it conceivable that the Notary, in
 these minutes, should be so intent upon the substance of
 what passed, as to err perpetually in point of form,
 without one exception to the contrary? Is it any ob-
 jection to these acts, that they are minutes; that is,
 were taken by the Actuary *de die in diem*, at the very
 time and place, when and where, the Lower House's
 adjournments were made: so that had the Archbishop's
 authority intervened on these occasions, he could not
 but have observed and known it; and must, conse-
 quently, as he was drawing up the act, have adapted
 his expressions to it? Does it weaken the authority of
 these minutes, that they are, perhaps, short, confused,
 and obscure in some instances (as the nature of minutes
 is to be), when in the point for which we produce
 them they are neither short, confused, nor obscure, these

* Page 4. col. 1.

several adjournments being there entered at length, and in words both legible and intelligible? On the contrary, is it not a good proof that the Actuary's entries in the point of adjournment are proper and exact, when it appears that whatever marks of haste there may be in other parts of his minutes, yet here he always expresseth himself both clearly and consistently? To this purpose, it is very material to observe the alteration of his phrase on the 4th of November, the first day on which the second Convocation of this year sat: there he tells us how, "*Dominus Archiepiscopus prorogavit et continuavit ulteriorem Sessionem in diem,*" &c.; because the Two Houses were then together, and the Prolocutor as yet unpresented. Which being the only instance throughout the book where the Archbishop is mentioned upon an adjournment, and the only one where there was any real ground to mention him, shews, that the Notary did not in these cases throw out words by chance, but adjusted his forms with care to the thing he intended to express by them.

The Sheet says, indeed, that these minutes are "attested by nobody;" when yet, in the very first page of them, the following words are to be seen: "*In præsentiâ mei, Willielmi Fisher, Notarii Publici,*" written in the same hand with the rest of the book, which therefore are a formal attestation of the whole. And unluckily it so happens, that Fisher, who drew these minutes, was a man of known skill and ability in his time, and well acquainted with the forms of Convocation, having been now several years in the service of it, as I have reason to believe from some extracts made
for

for Archbishop Laud, soon after the year 1630, which are said to be taken "ex Libro Convocationum penes Magistrum Fisher, Actuarium et Scribam remanente." He lived beyond the Restoration, and had then the repute of a person very knowing in his way, of which there are still living witnesses at the Commons. And because something hath been said in a Paper of my Lords the Bishops, and may hereafter be printed, to discredit the Actuary of 1586 (as it is natural for us to disparage men and things that make against us), I will here give the Reader some short account of him also. Edward Say, who makes the Prolocutor so often to continue the Convocation in that puzzling phrase, "Quoad hanc Domum," was the son and successor of William Say, who belonged to the Lower House of Convocation near forty years; and, being therefore an Actuary by descent, was probably no stranger to the language of Convocation.

However, that I may conceal nothing (for a good cause needs no disguises), I shall here own to the Reader what was the true occasion of employing the phrase, "quoad hanc Domum," in the acts of 1586. The Prolocutor was on that day, when we first meet with it there, put into the Archbishop's commission for proroguing the Upper House (in order, I suppose, to empower him to give oaths, as he did, at the trial of an election that day below): and therefore, to distinguish the act of his proroguing the Lower House from that of his assisting in the prorogation of the Upper, the Notary, with great nicety, expressed himself thus: "Dominus Prolocutor continuavit Convocationem quoad

“hanc Domum.” I do not take this account to be any way prejudicial to the present claim of the Lower House; since it shews that the Prolocutor, even when he was in commission for proroguing, and did actually prorogue, the Upper House (as we are sure he did in the fifth Session), was yet obliged solemnly to prorogue the Lower; and, consequently, that the prorogation of the Lower was not included in that of the Upper, as the Sheet pretends; but that the Prolocutor acted in these cases by two different authorities; in one, as the Archbishop’s Commissioner; in the other, as the mouth of the Lower Assembly: for, had he acted authoritatively in the first case alone, and but as a messenger in the latter, he would, when he came down, have signified only what had passed above, and not have prorogued the Lower House as formally as the Upper; which yet he appears by the acts to have done. Besides, though the phrase, “Continuavit quoad hanc Domum,” was first employed in these acts when the Prolocutor was in commission from the Archbishop, yet we meet with it several times afterwards, when he was not; particularly in the 4th, 6th, and 11th Sessions, when the Archbishop was present in the Upper House, and prorogued it in person; and here, therefore, it can no way be accounted for, but upon the foot of separate continuations. Upon this ground, indeed, the Actuary, after he had taken up the phrase, when it was not only proper, but in some sort necessary, might continue it still, when it was as proper, though not as necessary. But had the Archbishop’s act at that time adjourned the whole Convocation, the Prolocutor’s proroguing

“quoad hanc Domum,” after the Archbishop, would have been an unpardonable invasion of his Grace’s power, and ridiculous nonsense; and we may be sure that his Grace, after one such attempt, would never again have put him into the commission of Presidency, as he did in the fifth Session.

To proceed. In the minutes of the Lower House since the Restoration, though little else be taken notice of, yet the forms of adjournment are entered pretty regularly; and out of these the Letter-writer produceth two, which seem to make for the Lower House’s power of adjourning itself, “Martii 21, 1677. Prolocutor “continuavit præsentem Convocationem;” and “Martii 17, 1678. Prolocutor continuavit hanc Synodum.” It is strange that he should see nothing more to the same purpose there; particularly that he should overlook the remarkable adjournment of March 14, 1677, which immediately precedes one of those produced by him, and is entered with more formality than is usual in these minutes. It runs, “Cleri hujus domûs” did so and so; and then, “Continuarunt et prorogarunt hanc Synodum in 21 Martii.” But these entries are made in a very small hand, and perhaps he was unwilling to strain his eyes too far in reading them: for otherwise he must have observed, that throughout those seventeen years to which the minutes extend, there is not a single form of adjournment which mentions the Archbishop’s authority as intervening, and but few that can fairly be construed any way to imply it. No phrases occur there more frequently than these, “Continuata est Convocatio,” or “Continuata est Synodus,” to such a time and place: and that this refers merely to the
the

the continuation made below, not at all to that above, is plain from the title of each day's act, which is drawn in this or the like manner, "In loco prædicto, inter horas prædictas, præfente Notario prædicto;" and therefore confines the account of what is afterwards said to be done on that day to the room where the Lower Clergy sat, and where their Actuary was present: and if so, then the phrases, "Continuata est Convocatio," or "Synodus," thus used, are as plain a proof of a separate adjournment, as if they had been expressly qualified with a "quoad hanc Domum:" for this must be the true import of them, that the Convocation, or Synod, was then adjourned "in respect of the Lower House," as it had before been adjourned "in respect of the Upper;" and consequently it must be implied, that the Archbishop's act above included his own House only.

The same is to be said of those phrases which mention only an adjournment at large, but not who, or what, was adjourned; as "Continuatur, prorogatur, prorogatio fit, continuatio fit, facta fuit prorogatio," and the like; of which the instances are numberless. Such forms, carrying in them no hint of the Archbishop's authority, and being indeed by the titles of the several sessions determined to express what passed below only, are as good an evidence, that the continuation then made was the act of the Lower House itself, as if it had been said so many times in plain English, "The House adjourned."

There are several other instances, where the Prolocutor is said, "Intimare continuationem usque ad" &c.; but they are few in respect of those alledged, and, if
in-

interpreted in congruity with those, can signify no more than that the Prolocutor, as the mouth of the Lower House, declared the time to which it adjourned. And thus also we must understand the same phrase in the acts of 1586, where it more frequently occurs: the intimation there spoken of must be such as was directed by the House itself, and not by the Archbishop; though, I must confess, there are two or three passages in those acts so expressed, as not readily to admit of such an interpretation.

To sum up our evidence then: Of the three Lower House books left, the forms of adjournment, entered in the Two last, make for the power of the House almost in every instance, and in none oppose it: and if in the first of these books there be two or three expressions less exact, yet the continuation of the Prolocutor, "*quoad hanc Domum*," which we so often there meet with, shews that they cannot be interpreted in bar of the Lower House's right to separate adjournments.

There is one expression more, which we constantly find in all the adjournments of the Lower House, when fully entered. It is said to be continued "*in hunc locum*," that is, to the very room where the Clergy then sit, and are to meet next upon that adjournment. This is a proof that they are not included in the prorogation of the Archbishop, because he, by the words "*in hunc locum*," prorogues not to Henry the VIIth's chapel, but to the Jerusalem chamber. The evidence for this on either side is, that in the front of the acts, both above and below, the particular room, where the several Houses sit, is either mentioned, or referred to;
and

and then in the close of the act, the adjournment is made "in hunc locum," that is, to the very room before expressed. But I shall have occasion to say somewhat further on this head in another place; and shall proceed therefore now, after having examined the style used in adjourning the Lower House, to consider also the method of doing it.

The adjournment was pronounced always in the Lower House itself by their own Prolocutor, or his deputy thereto appointed; which is a very strong presumption that it was done by the authority of the House itself, and not by that of the Archbishop: for had the Archbishop's prorogation above extended to the Lower Clergy, the usual way of declaring it would certainly have been in the presence of the Clergy themselves; the Archbishop having an undoubted right to send up for them at pleasure, and making use of that right frequently upon other occasions; and yet I question whether, till the last Convocation sat, any one clear precedent can be shewn, where the Archbishop hath prorogued in the presence of the Lower House, after it was completely formed, unless when the King at the same time prorogued or adjourned the whole Parliament: in which cases, it was usual for the Clergy to attend in the Upper House, and there receive intimation of the King's pleasure. On the contrary, nothing is more common in the acts, than to say (as often as the Two Houses were together upon conference, just before the Upper rose) that the Archbishop dismissed the Lower Clergy first, and then adjourned; which sure he would
never

never have done, had his act and authority adjourned them.

When the Prolocutor was by reason of sickness or business obliged to be absent, he deputed one to act for him in the Lower House, even at such times when nothing more was to be done there, besides bare adjourning; which shews that the act of continuing the Lower House by itself was reckoned a matter of importance, since they thought it worth while to have Sub-Prolocutors made for that purpose alone. And these Deputies, we may observe, adjourned in the Prolocutor's name, not in the Archbishop's. Thus, "Nov. 23, 1586, Decanus Litchfield nomine Domini Prolocutoris intimavit," &c. And again, "Dec. 2, 1586, Decanus Westminster nomine Prolocutoris continuavit hujusmodi Convocationem quoad hanc Domum."

The deputations of this kind were made with great solemnity before a Public Notary, either to a single person, or to several "conjunctim et divisim," in the very manner that the Archbishop sometimes empowered others to preside for him; and, which peculiarly deserves our notice, they were made without the Archbishop's consent or privity, as we may certainly conclude from the minutes of the Lower House in 1640, compared with the register of the Upper. In the minutes, at May 2, 1640, the Notary says, "Dominus Prolocutor apud ejus ædes in Westminster, me præsentem, constituit et ordinavit doctorem Bargrave et doctorem Nevil, et eorum alterum conjunctim et divisim, pro se et ejus nomine, pro hac sessione, ad legend' Preces in Domo inferiori, et votum et suffragium suum reddere pro Pro-
" rogatione

“rogatione prox’ sequenti. Et factâ declaratione confirmationis hujusmodi clero Domûs inferioris cleri eandem approbarunt et confirmarunt.” But not a word is there of any such declaration to, or confirmation by the Upper House, in their exact register.

The inference plainly arising from hence is, that if the Prolocutor, in adjourning the House, had acted as the Archbishop’s Instrument only * and by his authority, he could never have deputed one to adjourn for him, without the Archbishop’s express allowance: but deriving his authority in this case solely from the Lower House (and there being no occasion on those days for any intercourse with the Bishops), the consent of the Lower House only was requisite to such deputations.

I shall add here a passage from Bishop Hall’s book of Episcopacy †, which I take to be material towards explaining the office and power of a Prolocutor, as then understood, both in this point of adjournment, and in several others. He is speaking of the principles and practices of the Puritans, in relation to Church Assemblies: “They allow,” says he, “that in Synods thus met, there must be due order kept; that order cannot be kept where there is an absolute equality of all persons concerned; that it is therefore necessary there should be an Head, President, or Governor of the Assembly, who shall marshal all the affairs of those meetings, propound the cases, gather the voices, pronounce the sentences and judgements. A lively image whereof we have in our Lower House of Convocation, the clerks whereof, having all equal

* Letter, p. 4. col. 1.

† Part 2. p. 8.

“ power

“power of voices, chuse their Prolocutor. He calls the
 “House, receives petitions or complaints, proposeth
 “the businesses, asks and gathers the suffrages, dismiss-
 “eth the sessions,” &c. By the parallel here drawn, he
 plainly intimates that the Prolocutor is as much the
 Head, President, and Governor of the Lower House, as
 the Moderator is of a Presbyterian Synod: and that he
 acts the same part in dismissing the sessions, that is, doth
 it equally by an authority derived from the Body over
 which he presides. It is true, he speaks afterwards of an
 “Upper House, consisting of the Peers of the Church,
 “whose grave authority gives life to the motions of
 “that Lower Body. But this is said in respect of Sy-
 “nodical decrees, censures, and punishments,” which
 do indeed receive their life from the Upper House, in
 whom the Power of Judicature chiefly resides; but so,
 however, as to take in the consent of the Lower. These
 words of Bishop Hall are of the more weight, because
 he himself belonged to another House when he wrote
 them; and his book was set out at the precise time
 [A. D. 1640] when the Lower House acts are so full
 of precedents to our purpose, and underwent the strict
 perusal of Archbishop Laud before it was published.

Nor is there any thing singular in his notion, where he
 represents the Prolocutor as Head, President, or Go-
 vernor of the Lower House. Archbishop Parker had
 said much the same thing before him, in a speech to the
 Convocation of 1572; part of which I shall, for that
 and other reasons, here transcribe: “Synodus hæc
 “nostra, ut scitis, in duas societates (quæ duobus domi-
 “ciliis, superiori nempe et inferiori segregantur) divisa
 “est.

“ est. Ut igitur in consiliis et deliberationibus de eccle-
 “ fasticis causis capiendis concordēs esse possimus, et ad
 “ vitandas in cunctis nostris disceptationibus altercationes
 “ atque lites, superiori hujus conventui, adhibitis qui-
 “ busdam ad id designatis, ego præsideo; eodemque
 “ modo vos, inferioris consilii dilecti fratres, summâ curâ
 “ niti debetis; ut omnia moderatè prudenterque inter
 “ vos gerantur. Itaque eligendus inter vos est aliquis
 “ spectatæ gravitatis, pietatis, prudentiæ, et doctrinæ
 “ vir, ad Prolocutoris officium toto hujusmodi tempore
 “ exequendum,” &c. Archbishop Parker, whose skill
 in these things no man can doubt, speaks of himself,
 we see, as presiding in the Upper House only, and the
 Prolocutor as exercising the very same office in the
 Lower.

There is still one circumstance more well worth ob-
 serving in the Prolocutor's method of adjournment: he
 is said to prorogue not only as to time, but place also.
 Thus the Journal of 1586. Session 10. “ Decanus
 “ Westminster nomine Prolocutoris continuavit hujus-
 “ modi Convocationem, quoad hanc Domum, usque
 “ inter horas,” &c. “ et prorogavit locum hujusmodi
 “ usque ad et in sacello olim nuncupato B. Mariæ, in
 “ Orientali parte Ecclesiæ D. Pauli.” So that the Arch-
 bishop in this instance manifestly adjourned the Bishops
 alone to the Chapter-house of St. Paul's; and the
 Lower Clergy, by their Prolocutor, adjourned them-
 selves to St. Mary's Chapel there, the usual place of
 their assembly.

The Letter indeed throws off this instance, by suppo-
 sing that the Archbishop had given directions in point
 of

of time and place, which the Prolocutor only obeyed. But this is a mere supposition, without the least shadow of proof to support it. All that the letter urges for it is, that "the King's writ vests the entire right of appointing the place in the Archbishop, by the clause "in eccl. D. Pauli, vel alibi, prout melius expedire videritis *." But it is by no means clear to me, that this writ conveys to the Archbishop any power in point of place, but what regards their first appearance only; for it runs, "convocari faciatis" such and such, "ad comparend' eorum vobis in eccl. S^ti Pauli, vel alibi;" and, therefore, when they are once met, the change of place must either be by the joint consent of the Body, or, after they are formed into two distinct Houses, by the consent of each House apart; for which their writ gives them no power, any otherwise that as it no way restrains them from doing it. Accordingly, when the words "vel alibi" were left out of the Royal summons, the Clergy still thought themselves at liberty to alter the place of their sitting at pleasure; and did so in the year 1554, when their writ was so shortened. Besides, the usual and almost invariable language of the Upper House books is, when the Convocation adjourned from Paul's to Westminster, or back again, that the Archbishop continued either to the Chapter-House in the one, or to Henry the VIIth's Chapel in the other; that is, the Archbishop adjourned his own House thither, for none but the Bishops met in either of those places upon such adjournments. Of this the instances are so numerous, especially in the acts of 1562, when the Con-

* Page 4. col. 2.

vocation often shifted place, that I shall forbear to trouble the Reader with them. But from hence it follows, that, upon a change of place, each House adjourned itself to the respective room where it used to sit in that general place, as well as to the time when the Convocation was agreed to be held there: which confirms the exposition above given of the words "in hunc locum," and leads me also to consider,

6. The forms of adjournment in the Upper House books; since these also will furnish us with plain proofs of the right of separate continuations in the Lower. It is, I have said, a constant part of these forms, and ever hath been, both of the schedule of prorogation which is signed by the Archbishop, and of the act which is framed upon it and entered in the register, that his Grace continues to such a time, "et in hunc locum," that is, to the very room where such continuation is made. Now nobody meets at that room, by virtue of this continuation, but the members of the Upper House alone; and it is clear therefore that nobody but they can be affected by it. My Lords the Bishops seemed aware of this argument at the entrance of the last Convocation; and, to obviate it, would fain have introduced a new custom of making the Lower Clergy attend every day in the Jerusalem Chamber, before they met as an House. But not being able from all the records of Convocation, or from the reports of living members, to produce one precedent for such a claim, they were forced to drop it, though they would never expressly disown it; and to permit the Lower Clergy at every new Session to assemble separately in their own House, though the
una-

unavoidable inference from that practice be, that the Clergy meet there upon their own adjournment, and by their own authority.

Another usual expression in the Archbishop's act of adjournment is, that he continues "*cum consensu fratrum*," or "*suffraganeorum*." This is almost every where the language of the books; and when it is not, is purely an omission of the Actuary. And this language is very proper: for the Archbishop's adjournments being really an act of his House, and only declared by him, ought to be set down as done by consent of the House. Now if the adjournment of the Lower Clergy be included in this act, it follows that one House hath the power of adjourning another; which is so wild a notion, that every Reader must, at first sight, see the absurdity of it; and I may spare myself therefore the trouble of exposing it. I shall only observe on this occasion that the phrase "*cum consensu fratrum*" is never, that I can find, used when the Archbishop prorogues by virtue of the King's writ, or pronounces a dissolution; because then he acts by the King's authority, and therefore acts peremptorily, and what he doth affects the whole Body then present before him, whether they agree to it or not; but when he is said to do any thing by the consent of one House or both, he acts by their authority, not barely by his own; and what he doth therefore extends to those, and those only, who are said to consent to it.

There is yet a third phrase in these acts, of as constant use, and of as great advantage to the pretensions of the Lower House, as either of the former. The meeting is there said to be continued "*in statu quo nunc est*," that is,

by an immediate and total interruption of the debates then depending. If then this act of adjournment took place in the Lower House, it would be a present check upon their debates; at least as soon as they had notice of it by the transmission of the Archbishop's schedule; and the Prolocutor, upon receiving that schedule, would forthwith be bound to publish it, which the Letter * thinks no hardship or absurdity; but supposeth the practice and endeavours there to defend it. Whereas it is unquestionably true, that the usage of the Lower House has been, to sit, treat, and act, after the Upper was risen; as, without further proof, may be made out by the two following passages.

“ Nov. 8, 1529, Quo facto, monitus est Prolocutor
 “ cum Clero, ut redirent ad inferiorem locum, et ibi
 “ tractarent de rebus Synodi; et quòd comparerent
 “ proximo die Veneris, loco et horâ, &c. Et sic con-
 “ tinuavit, &c. cum verbis in scripto, quod scriptum
 “ ibidem sequitur.”

“ Nov. 15, 1529, Reverend' monuit Prolocutorem
 “ ut rediret in Domum Inferiorem, et conciperet arti-
 “ culos de abusionibus. Quibus factis, Reverend' con-
 “ tinuavit usque ad diem Veneris.”

But there is the less need of abounding in such instances as these, because,

7. It may be proved easily, that the Lower House has sat, not only in intermediate hours on the same day; but on intermediate days also, when the Upper House never sat at all. Instances of this kind there are as old almost as the complete division of the Two

Houses. Two of them, recorded in Chicheley's Register, I shall produce at length; and could add many more before and after his time, did not the short bounds of this Paper confine me.

" Oct. 19, 1429, Dominus Clerum exhortabatur ut
" ipsi inter se de tempore in tempus pro tempore absentiae
" Domini, convenirent, et circa materias hujusmodi,
" et alias Convocationem hujusmodi concernentes inten-
" derent diligenter;" and then prorogued. Reg.
Chicheley, part II. f. 77.

In the Convocation held Nov. 7, 1433, on Tuesday, the Lower House, then before the Archbishop, desire time to give in their answer upon some high points proposed. The Archbishop agrees to it; " præcipiens
" eisdem quatenus circa eadem motiva cum aliis ab eisdem
" dependentibus usque ad diem Jovis prox. diligenter
" et unanimiter laborarent; ad quem diem continuavit
" Convocationem." Ibid. f. 94. b.

When the Letter-writer says, therefore*, that " the
" Convocation-acts, remaining in the Archbishop's
" registers before the Reformation, are not pretended
" to afford the least colour or foot-step of any such
" claim" (as the Lower House now pretend to), he speaks either very unknowingly, or very unfairly.

It will be objected, that these intermediate Sessions were with the Archbishop's leave, and at his instance. But that alters not the case; for if both Houses were adjourned peremptorily by one and the same act of prorogation, the Lower Clergy, during such adjournment, could no more meet and act as an House with the Arch-

* Page 2. col. 2.

bishop's leave than without it. If it be said, that they acted as Committees only, and in a preparative way, they that say so would do well to prove it, which from the records of that time I am satisfied they cannot do. However, since this will still be said, I shall here produce another instance, which, besides that it comes nearer to our times, is not capable, I think, of having any such colours put upon it.

Nov. 28, 1554, the Bishops Journal says, "Præf-
dens—continuavit hanc Synodum in statu quo nunc
est, usque in diem Veneris, viz. Dec. 7. futuri, et
ad quemlibet diem citra super intimationem." But no such anticipating intimation was given; for the next words are: "Quo die Veneris, viz. Dec. 7, 1554, habita tractatione," &c. Now, that during these ten days, wherein the Session of the Upper House was intermitted, the Lower House sat on, appears from a note entered in the same act-book ["Memorandum quod, Nov. 28. dictus Prolocutor substituit loco suo, durante ejus absentia, Magistros Hugonem Weston, Nicolaum et Joh. Harpsfield, conjunctim et divisim, ad exercendum officium Prolocutoris"]; and from the business with which on the 7th of December they came up to the Bishops. It was their famous petition for confirming the Church-lands to the patentees, restoring the liberty and jurisdiction of the Church, and abolishing all laws contrary to it. This, which was a matter of vast consequence, they debated and framed in that interval; and for that purpose had a Sub-prolocutor made on the day of the Archbishop's adjournment. And when, therefore, the Bishops met them again on
Dec.

Dec. 7. the petition was ordered to be presented (as an act chiefly of the Lower House) by one Bishop only, attended with the Prolocutor and six others of their Body. It cannot be pretended here, that they acted in this interval as a Committee; for what need then of having a Prolocutor at the head of them, which we see they took care of? Nor can it be said, that the Prolocutor named a Deputy on the 28th of November, because he was to be absent at the next Session on the 7th of December; for we find him on that very day spoken of as present. And as for the Bishop's conditional adjournment, it was so made, in hopes that the Lower Clergy would have come to an agreement in the matter of the petition before the 7th, in which case the Bishops would have anticipated their own adjournment to dispatch it. But their debates, it seems, held longer, and this point was yielded by them not without great reluctance; and no wonder, for it gave up their claim to all the lands that had been taken from the Church in the two former reigns.

I have enlarged on this particular proof the rather, because, taken in all its circumstances, it is such, I think, as will admit of no tolerable evasion. There is still, indeed, a bare possibility left, that the Clergy might never meet during this long recess of the Bishops; but, if such a possibility be allowed to overthrow the force of all those strong appearances I have produced to the contrary, scarce any thing (under our present want of light and precedents) can ever clearly be made out concerning the rights and privileges of either House of Convocation.

Divers instances beside there are, where the Archbishop, immediately before his adjournment, hath recommended business to the Clergy, which in the very nature of it was utterly incapable of being transacted by the time prescribed, unless the Clergy had sat on intermediate days to finish it. Thus,

May 6, 1532, Sess. 10. 4. "Die Lunæ, Commissarius voluit Prolocutorem, &c. quod concipiant responsa sua in scriptis, et voluit eosdem ad comparand' die Mercurii. Quo die" (viz. May 8, Sess. 105.) "Commissarius accepit quatuor libellos à Prolocutore super auctoritate Ecclesiasticorum condendi jura pro suppressione Hæreseos," &c. These four *libelli* were drawn up between Monday and Wednesday; and the Lower Clergy therefore must have sat on Tuesday to frame them.

Wednesday, April 25, 1543, Several parts of the necessary crudition being examined already by the Bishops, the Archbishop, "de consensu Patrum, tradidit eosdem libros Prolocutori, ad examinand' eosdem suo et inferiorum Prælatorum judicio, et ad referend' eorum judicium super eisdem die Veneris prox';" when the Bishops were next to meet: the Clergy, therefore, were to sit on Thursday to examine them.

Friday, April 27, 1543, An Exposition of the Articles of Faith was approved in the Upper House in the morning, and in the afternoon a Treatise of Justification, "neque de operibus, et oratione pro defunctis;" and all, after that, were delivered to the Prolocutor, to be examined and returned on the Mon-

day
1

day following. To be sure, therefore, there was a Session of the Lower House on Saturday to this purpose.

And these passages shew us with how great accuracy Archbishop Parker expressed himself in that "Form of holding a Convocation," which he drew up for the Synod of 1562; and where he tells us, that the next step, after the Prolocutor is confirmed, is, for the Archbishop to exhort the Clergy, "*ut de rebus communibus, quæ reformatione indigeant, consultant et referant die statuto; ac ad hunc modum de Sessione in Sessionem continuabitur Convocatio.*" Their consultations were to be held on intermediate days, as they saw best; but the report of them was to be made above, on the day appointed for the common sitting of both Houses. And yet this very citation is placed in the front of a late Author's arguments against the Lower House's right to intermediate Session *.

But I shall wave any further presumptive proofs at present, there being still behind some plain and positive evidences of the Lower House's power, not only to sit at intermediate times, but even to adjourn itself to them.

8. Two of these the act-books of 1640, when compared, afford us. The Upper House Journal says, "*Die Martis, 5 Maii,*" the Archbishop's Commissary "*sedendo legit schedulam continuationis in scriptis, &c. prorogando et continuando Convocationem in statu quo nunc est, usque ad et in diem Sabbati 9,*" viz. Maii. And then, "*Die Sabbati, 9 Maii,*" the same Commissary "*continuavit et prorogavit hujusmodi Convocationem, sive*

* See Kennet, Occasional Letter, p. 55.

" *facrum*

“*facrum Synodum provincialem, in statu quo nunc est, in diem Mercurii, 13 Maii.*” But in the Lower House book, the days to which they adjourn are different; for there, “*Die Martis, 5 Maii, prorogata fuit Sessio usque ad et in diem Veneris prox’, viz. 8 Maii.* And then, “*Die Veneris prædicto prorogata fuit Sessio usque ad diem Mercurii prox’ sequent’, viz. 13 Maii.* The Reader observes, that the Lower Clergy on one of these days adjourned short of the Bishops, and on the other beyond them. It is true, what they did in this case seems to have been questioned: for, when they met on May 13, it is said, “*Acta fuerunt perfecta quoad privilegia Domus,*” &c. But if there were any such dispute, it is plain it was carried on the Clergy’s side, upon view of the precedents then remaining on their acts, both because no entry was made in the Bishop’s register of their disallowing this practice, which, had it been proved new, would certainly have been done; and because we find the Lower Clergy afterwards in the same book using their liberty once again in the same kind: for when, on Dec. 19, 1640, the Upper House continued to Jan. 13. the Lower House minutes say, “*Dec. 19. Domini continuarunt usque ad 23;*” and “*then Dec. 23. Domini continuarunt usque ad Jan. 13.*” Here again they sat once between the Bishop’s Sessions, and had thoughts of sitting oftener; for their last adjournment from Dec. 23. to Jan. 13. was made “*sub protestatione de revocando actum prædictum casu quo necesse fuerit interim;*” that is, protesting, that as they had prevented the Bishops’ day of sitting once already, so they would be at liberty to do it again,
if

if they saw convenient. Which was an usual form of adjournment, as often as the Convocation had a prospect of business falling out before the time to which they continued.

This evidence, if admitted, would clear up the point without more ado; and therefore the Writer of the Sheet hath been at a great deal of pains to perplex and puzzle it, with what success I shall now examine.

He objects against the number of the instances being two only, against a current and perpetual practice to the contrary*. But, with his leave, these two are really four; each instance carrying in it a double proof of the Clergy's claim or exercise of a power to adjourn themselves separately from the Bishops. And these four are all drawn from a single book of each House casually preserved; in which case, four precedents may have the weight of forty: for it must be considered, that no convincing evidence of this kind can be had, but where the few remaining records of both Houses are concurrent in time, and entire as to the dates of adjournments; and these they are in no one year but 1640, either the Upper or Lower House book, or both, being wanting for every year beside, since the acts of Convocation began to be registered. We have, indeed, a short abstract or index of the Bishops' Journal in 1586 and 1588, and the complete acts of the Lower House in those years; but the Sessions in the abstract are not so clearly taken as to leave us without a doubt whether in every instance both Houses concurred. And excepting this abstract (which is no clear authority) and the

* Page 6. col. 2.

register of 1640, we have not, that I can hear of, a single paper left any where by which the concurrence of adjournments can be proved, till Convocations as to any real use of them were laid aside, and kept up as to matter of form only: and from that time to this, we have a series of the Archbishop's schedules of adjournment pretty entire: so that what the Sheet can mean by "a current and perpetual practice to the contrary" is hard to imagine, when the evidence of this currency and perpetuity (bating the instances of yesterday) extends to three years alone; in the two first of which it is not unexceptionable, and in the last, where it is so, carries its own answer along with it: the several instances of that year [1640], which disprove this currency, being as authentic as those which establish it. One would think that the penner of this Paper, by his talk of "current and perpetual practice," had either seen a complete series of the records of either House from the times of the Reformation downwards, or could supply them by divination.

Had we all the act-books still left which were extant in 1640, I doubt not but we should find there many precedents of incoincident adjournments, by which the Lower House then guided themselves, and which they probably produced May 13, when their power in this respect seems to have been questioned: for it is not to be imagined that they now first began this practice, but only copied what their predecessors had done. And these instances, therefore, few as they are, are of great significancy, as well because the concurrent notices of adjournments now remaining are few also, as because

because these few precedents involve in them the force of all the foregoing ones upon which they were grounded.

But that which is to overthrow these several instances at once is, the consideration of the time at which they happened; which was, it seems, when the affairs of the Church and Clergy were in the utmost confusion. This point is laboured mightily, and upon it some common stories are told with a seeming exactness, but many real mistakes, and to what purpose I do not readily apprehend: for what signifies it to tell us, that the Parliament was dissolved on May 5, and the Clergy at a loss whether they should not disperse the day afterwards, &c. Did that make them chuse, on Tuesday May the 5th, to adjourn rather to Friday May the 8th, than to Saturday May the 9th, the day to which the Bishops adjourned? Did the surprize they were under make the Prolocutor unable to read the date in the Archbishop's schedule of prorogation? Or, had the House parted in such a fright on May the 5th, as to mistake their next appointment; yet when they came together again on May the 8th, and had a little recovered themselves, what possible reason can be drawn, from the apprehensions and doubts they were then under, for their declining to meet the Bishops on May the 9th, and adjourning over them to the 13th? Did their "uncertainty whether they were a legal Convocation" put them upon taking one illegal step more than they had made already? Was it the way to set their first irregularity (that of sitting after the dissolution of the Parliament) right, to add another to it, by adjourning apart
and

and to a different time from the Bishops? Were they apprehensive of the advantages which their enemies would make of the extraordinary continuance of their Assembly? And would they give them new advantages, by the extraordinary and unprecedented manner in which it was continued? It is certain, that their being now an unparliamentary Synod was so far from giving them liberty in this respect, that it rather confined them more: for the distinction of the Two Houses, and their separate right of adjournment, came all from their Parliamentary relation: and therefore their present disengagement from that should rather have brought them nearer to the methods of pure Provincial Synods, than have set them more at a distance from them. It was an ill time for the Lower House to attempt to enlarge their parliamentary privileges, when the whole Body of Convocation had just loosened itself from the Parliament. Upon the whole, therefore, no reflections made on the circumstances of the Clergy and the difficulty of the times can give us any reasonable account of their practice in this case, supposing it to be singular: on the contrary, we have all the reason in the world to believe that, if they had not had precedents of this kind upon their books, they would not then have first ventured to make them.

The only refuge now left is, to question the exactness of the Lower House minutes in these dates; and this, therefore, is in the next place attempted; but how? Why, by confronting them with a printed passage in Heylin's "*Cyprianus Anglicus*," shewing their disagreement with it, and giving greater credit to the
print

print than to the original journal: a piece of deference, which the writer of that paper, whoever he is, would, I believe, scarce have paid Dr. Heylin on any other occasion. But unfortunately it so happens, that if this passage in Heylin be exact, then the Register of the Upper House, as well as the Journal of the Lower, is false and not to be depended on; for his relation equally contradicts both of them. And sure it is a new way of arguing, to produce the authority of any private Historian in opposition to the testimony of the original acts of both Houses of Convocation. Heylin (as transcribed in the Sheet) tells us "the Convocation was adjourned "from Wednesday (May 6.) till the Friday following " (May 8.) and then till the next day after, Saturday " (May 9.) and so till Monday (May 11)." But, in truth, Heylin mentions the days of the week only, and the days of the month (which are put here artificially into semicircles, without giving us notice whether they belong to Heylin's account or not) are in him omitted; a remark, which, as slight as it may seem, the Reader will presently find useful towards clearing up this matter. The first particular in Heylin's account, that the Bishops and Clergy met on Wednesday, May 6. is, I suppose, true, being expressly confirmed by Fuller, and agreeable to the practice of Convocation; which has been, to meet the day after the Parliament, and receive the Royal writ of dissolution, though they had happened before to adjourn themselves beyond that time: and with reason; for the adjournments of either House are made always with a deference to the Royal power of proroguing or dissolving the whole, and are revocable therefore upon

the interposition of it. And the Clergy did not yet know whether the Crown might not think fit to dismiss them at the usual day. But in all the following particulars I may have leave, I hope, to question Heylin's exactness; both because Fuller says nothing of them, and because they expressly contradict the Journals of both Houses of Convocation; and one of these, that of the Upper House, a very exact and particular Register, as the paper styles it; where all the adjournments are entered with the utmost formality, and where it cannot be conceived therefore that these should be omitted. If it be said, that these meetings mentioned in Heylin were not by way of adjournment, but to consult only what they should do at this difficult juncture: I answer, that the passage, thus explained, will no way weaken the credit of the minutes, which yet is the end of producing it; for the minutes can be supposed to take notice only of the formal and regular adjournments of the House, not of the casual and unconvocational meetings of its members. But, in truth, Heylin's words will not bear this sense: for he says expressly, that the Convocation was adjourned from Wednesday till Friday, and from Friday to Saturday, and from Saturday to Monday, in which he must have been mistaken; and I believe a probable account may be given how this mistake came. He was a member of this Convocation, and had entered in his notes the days of the week, without adding those of the month, wherein the Convocation met; and when he was taking out these into his history, cast his eye upon a Wednesday in a false week, and from thence transcribed the successive adjournments: for from Wednesday

nesday, May 13. (in the next week to that which he is upon) the adjournments run in the Register exactly as they do in Heylin, the Convocation being continued from thence to Friday, and to the Saturday and Monday following, which it is in no other period of their sitting whatsoever. This I verily believe to have been the true occasion of Heylin's error; which if the Letter-writer smelt, by adding the days of the week, he would fain have covered. However, as Heylin has expressed himself, it is certain that he must have erred; nor is it the only mistake of moment he has made in this story: for he tells us, that the King proposed the question about continuing the Convocation beyond the Parliament to the Lawyers on Sunday May 10, and intimates that they then signed it. "Encouraged with which assurance," says he, "and a new commission, they settled to their work again on Wednesday the 13th of that month." When yet it is certain, from all the printed accounts of those times, and from the very Register of the Upper House of Convocation, that this opinion was not signed till May the 14th, the day after he says they "settled to work" in virtue of it. And in this circumstance too, the Writer of the Sheet, out of his profound regard to Heylin's authority, implicitly follows his dates, without examining whether they are false or not; or (which is worse) without owning the mistake if he found it; a proceeding not likely (whenever he is known) to raise his credit, either for probity, or skill in Chronology!

Still a small objection remains to the credibility of the minutes in that instance, that "though from May 13, to

“ May 29, there were several sessions, yet no difference “ appears as to time in the continuations of the Two “ Houses.” From whence this writer would have it understood, that because there was no difference in the adjournment after May 13, probably there was none in those before it; a strange sort of inference, especially if it be considered, that the Convocation, after they in earnest entered upon business (which was not till they had received the opinion of the Lawyers on May 15), sat “ de die in diem,” without any intermission, but once upon presenting their benevolence; and no wonder, therefore, if the meetings of the Two Houses were after that (what they could not well but be) concurrent. Besides, it must freely be owned, that when the Two Houses were upon business of common importance, it being for the convenience of the Lower Clergy to meet the Bishops on their own days, in order to a quicker dispatch of it, they did accordingly thus meet them in these and perhaps in most other instances; but when there was no occasion for a strict intercourse between the Two Houses, they were more at liberty to order their sessions, each as they thought fit. And this I take to be the true reason of the seeming irregularity of the adjournments from May 5 to May 13, as well as of that from Dec. 19, to Dec. 23, which we are next to account for. The affairs of Convocation were at a stand both these times, and the Houses therefore adjourned themselves, each to what day they judged convenient.

For it is true (what the Sheet observes), that on Dec. 18, the day before the Convocation was prorogued, the

Archbishop was impeached and confined; and on the 19th, therefore, we find the Two Houses, who could not now transact business jointly, adjourning to different days; the Lower, to Dec. 23; the Upper, to a further time, Jan. 13, as being less willing, and less able, to act than the Lower, in the absence of their chief member the Archbishop. No other use than this can be made of the Archbishop's confinement, to shew why the Lower House should sit intermediately; unless we shall say, that it put the Two Houses into such a consternation, that they adjourned they knew not how, or entered they knew not what into their Registers; which the Sheet aims to insinuate, but without the least colour of probability, or fact to support such an insinuation. It tells us indeed of a certain dismal design which the rabble had, to assault the Convocation. But that was on the 12th of May before, and could no more influence the adjournment of the Lower House so long afterwards, on Dec. 19, than it could those of the 5th and 8th of May, which were some days before it. And here therefore again I must ask, were the Clergy so astonished at what happened to the Archbishop on Dec. 18, that they forgot on Dec. 19. that he had used to adjourn them? Did Dr. Steward, the Prolocutor, who had been raised by Archbishop Laud, gratefully take this time to encroach upon him? Could it indeed be suspected that the Clergy made advantage of the Archbishop's afflictions to enlarge their privileges, we should not be at a loss for an account of what they now did. But, besides that we should probably have had an account of the passage in the Archbishop's diary, it

is certain that the Clergy never paid him more duty and reverence than at this juncture; and were so far from endeavouring to grow upon him, that they were preparing to suffer with him, as they did soon afterwards. It was no time for them to think of gaining new rights and privileges, when they were upon the very brink of losing all their old ones; nor a proper season to hazard the displeasure of the Parliament by unwarrantable and illegal adjournments. Had they done so, we should surely have heard of it in the debates of the Commons; and their silence in this respect, therefore, is an argument that the Clergy had done nothing but what they could justify by common custom and usage.

Allowing then that the Lower House met on Dec. 23, (as how can it be doubted?) something is still to be said, to spoil this instance from being made a precedent for intermediate adjournments. It is surmized, therefore, that they met only "to consult about some sudden difficulty;" but that it was no usual or ordinary meeting, "being but two days before Christmas, and against the Convocation's usual regard to the great festivals." This surmise will be of little use, when I have told the Reader that the Convocation, in 1558, met upon adjournment on Saturday the eve of Easter, and that the first Convocation of this very year (1640) met twice on Saturday May 23, the eve of Whitsunday; nay, that the present Convocation itself was by his Grace adjourned to Friday June 6, a day just as near to one of the great festivals, as Dec. 23 is to another; so that there

there was nothing in this adjournment singular as to the time of it.

“ But the Upper House might (for aught we know) “ meet and consult at the same time, contrary to their “ Prorogation to January 13.” Certainly they could not, because the act of prorogation, Jan. 13, is entered at length, and has no revoking clause in it; which it must have had, in order to qualify the Bishops to meet as an House, by their own authority, before the expiration of the term to which they had expressly adjourned. Beside, the minutes of the Lower House say, “ that it “ was continued from Dec. 19, to Dec. 23;” and this could therefore be no sudden occasional meeting, for the Lower House had appointed it, and adjourned to it before-hand.

Yes, but the “ act of Dec. 19, being probably entered after the unexpected meeting” (of the Convocation) “ on the 23d, might make” (the Lower House Actuary) “ fix the former continuation to that day, though “ it were really to Jan. 13.” And to fortify this guess, several small remarks are made, to shew that this Notary used at once to enter the acts of several sessions; “ joining them in the same paragraph, and continuing them “ in the same line, without so much as a break at the “ end of the first day, or a capital at the beginning of “ the second, or any more distance than is ordinarily “ between the words in a continued sentence.” Now would not one imagine these to have been the punctual circumstances, under which the continuations from Dec. 19 to Dec. 23, and from thence to Jan. 13, were entered? that there were no breaks between these acts of adjournment?

journalment? no discontinuance in the lines where they are set down? no capitals at the entrance of them? And yet he that consults the Act-book will find, to his surprize, that these acts are severally entered with such breaks, distances, and capitals, as are proper to distinguish them. True! but the acts of several other days are joined in the same line. What is that to the acts of these days, which begin upon different lines? Allowing the observation to be just, that wherever the Writer of this Journal continues the acts of two days in the same line, there he entered both at once; it would very probably follow from hence, that where in the same book he distinguishes them by beginning different lines, they were entered at different times; and this is the case of the acts now under consideration.

But "the five Sessions from Dec. 9, to Jan. 17, are "all written with the same ink, and that of a colour "different from the rest both before and after it;" and were therefore "entered at the same time." This is somewhat subtle, and would perhaps bear a dispute: but, to wave it, might not the Actuary use the same pen and ink during these five Sessions, and different ones before and after them? And if so, of what use is this observation? Besides, I can give our nice observer one plain instance, where the acts of two Sessions are continued in the same line, without a capital or any remarkable break to distinguish them, and yet may be proved to have been written at different times, because written with different inks. It is at May 16, where the act ends thus: "*Postea prorogata fuit Sessio in diem Lunæ, 18* " *Maii, inter horas 9 et 11.*" And then follows, in
the

the same line, but in ink of another colour, "dicto die
"Dr. Martin introduxit," &c. without so much as a
capital to introduce it: which shews, that all these re-
finements, upon the size of letters, the distance of words,
and such other important points, are not quite so solid
as they are subtle.

There is a nicety yet behind unaccounted for: the
Actuary in his entries hath mistook the 18th for the
17th, and the 17th for the 16th of November, which is
made an argument that he wrote down things by memory,
and not upon the spot. As to one of these, what was
done upon the Fast-day, Nov. 17, there needs no proof
that it was entered upon memory; for the Actuary, not
carrying his Journal-book to Church with him, could set
down what passed there upon memory only; but as to
the other, the account of the Committee on Nov. 18,
it was certainly writ down at the very time the Commit-
tee sat; for otherwise it would have been placed after
what was done on the Fast-day, and not before it. But
the case was, that the Actuary attending the Committee,
Nov. 18, was not at liberty to enter an account of the
preceding Fast-day till the Committee was up, and then
he did it; but with a mistake as to the day, which he
fell into by having dated the Committee a day sooner
than he should have done, and then adjusting the date
of the Fast-day by it. I should be ashamed to entertain
the Reader with such little reflections and reasonings as
these, if the Writer whose steps I am bound to trace
had not made them necessary.

I have omitted nothing, I think, that relates to these
minutes, but this observation concerning the Clergy's

form of continuing on Dec. 23. "sub protestatione de
 "revocando," &c. that it is "singular *:" which means
 no more than that, having few or no books left, we hap-
 pen to have never another precedent of it, and that is
 no wonder. A protestation is entered in the same book
 by a member of the Lower House against the Canons
 then made; turn over all the acts of that House now
 remaining, and you shall find none like it; but it will
 scarce follow from hence, that therefore such a protesta-
 tion was not made.

By this time I may be allowed to affirm, that none of
 the objections started in this Sheet do at all weaken the
 authority of the Lower House-book, or give us ground
 to believe that the several parts of it were not taken
 on the spot: on the contrary, upon a strict examination,
 we find that it carries in it all the most unquestionable
 marks of original minutes; and, as such, affords us a
 testimony beyond exception of "the practice and power
 "of the Lower House to adjourn itself independently
 "of the Upper;" which was the point I proposed to
 make out, and have done it by a great variety of proofs,
 some of which may, I hope, convince the most pre-
 judiced Readers. It remains that I should now consider
 and remove also those doubts and difficulties which may
 still seem to clog this right, and to take off somewhat
 from the force of the evidence given in behalf of it.
 Most of these have been obviated already in the course
 of this argument: however, I shall take a view of
 them here together, and give distinct answers to each of
 them.

It is pleaded, "that the power of proroguing belongs to the Archbishop in the common right of a Metropolitan *;" and again, that "the determination of the time of meeting and acting is a power that Metropolitans (as such) have constantly enjoyed and exercised in all the ages of the Church †." This is said, indeed, with a very decisive air; and yet I must beg leave to doubt the truth of it. That the Metropolitan had a right (or rather was under a duty) of convening the Clergy of his Province at times prescribed by the Canons, I know very well. But after they were met, I am not satisfied that he had a right to prorogue or dismiss them at pleasure. It was necessary that the execution of the rule of the Church for assembling Synods should be placed in some one hand; and it was natural, therefore, to lodge it with the chief of the Province. But there was no necessity that any one Bishop should have power to prorogue the Synod when assembled, because that might be, and was I suppose, done by common consent; the share which the Metropolitan had in it being only to declare the sense of the Synod, as the chairman or common mouth of it. But allowing the Metropolitan originally to have had such a power, yet that plea is at present out of doors, when we are enquiring into the rights, not of a Metropolitan at large, but of an English Metropolitan, presiding over a Synod composed of Two distinct Houses, which manage their debates separately, and have a negative upon each other, and are called together not any way by his, but purely by Royal authority: and such a Metropolitan

* Page 3. col. 2.

† Ibid. col. 1.

hath no right of proroguing, whatever the ancient ones had. The synodical rights of Metropolitans have not been the same in all ages, or in all countries; in ours, particularly, they are lessened in several respects. The *Kōnos*, or sanction of the Canon, which amounted to little less than a negative, was anciently in them here as well as elsewhere; whereas now it is not, as is manifest from the style of all the Canons made since the Reformation. The assembling of Synods without any recourse to the civil power was of old their right, when they were required so to do by the Canons; but now they must have the King's authority for calling them. And if their power be altered from what it was in these respects, what wonder if it should be abridged also in others, particularly in the point of proroguing? A point of much less consequence, and less derogatory to the honour of a Metropolitan, than that of assembling, which yet he hath confessedly lost. It is odd to hear men urge the argument of primitive right for an Archbishop's power to prorogue, in a country where his very right of convening, from whence, if at all, he must have derived his right of proroguing, is totally abolished. It is probable that this was well known to Archbishop Sheldon and those other learned Prelates, whom he consulted upon the answer he wrote to the Polish Letter: for there, among the pre-eminences of the Archiepiscopal see, he mentions the right of calling Synods [that is, ministerially and in subordination to the King], and of moderating in them; but not a word does he (or Dr. Cousins, whose tables he has there an eye to) say of his right of proroguing them; which
yet,

yet, had it been understood to belong to his character, might have deserved a mention as well as the former. And yet this very passage is produced *, in favour of the metropolitical right of prorogation, according to the usual discretion of that Writer; who might withal have remembered, that there is not a word in that Letter of his Grace's power to deprive a Suffragan Bishop; and for this reason too should have kept it out of sight, instead of shewing it. To return; let any instance of a primitive Metropolitan be given, who had the power of proroguing Synods, so called and constituted as our English Convocations are, and the argument from such an ancient pattern will have its weight; but otherwise the difference of times, circumstances, and constitutions, will easily account for it.

2. It is farther pretended, that the Archbishop, as President of the Convocation, had a right to prorogue it †. But they who talk thus do not seem to understand the word. The title of President, as applied to the Archbishop, is wholly new, and unknown to all elder Convocations; where, whenever it is employed, it constantly signifies one that presides in the stead of, and by an authority derived from, some other. The Bishop of London, for instance, when he acts by commission from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, is styled "Dominus Præfident;" but the Archbishop himself never. Though, therefore, the Archbishop hath of late been unaccurately called "President of the Convocation;" yet this new title hath given him no power

* Occasional Letter, p. 65,

† Ibid. p. 1. col. 2. p. 2. col. 1. p. 3. col. 2.

but,

but what he had before, and implies rather a diminution than an increase of his authority. Besides, even under this modern use of the word, the Archbishop can never properly be styled "President of the Convocation" but when the "Two Houses are together; and then, indeed, he is the Chairman or Moderator of the whole Assembly; as, when the Commons attend in the House of Lords, the Chancellor is called "the mouth of that great Prefence *:" but when the Two Houses of Convocation are asunder, the Archbishop presides over his own only: "*Superiori hujus Conventui,*" said Archbishop Parker, "*ego præsidebo.*" The consequence of which is, that the Archbishop cannot, by virtue of his Presidency, prorogue both Houses when formed and sitting apart, because then he really presides over but one of them, and the Prolocutor over the other; whom for that reason Bishop Hall, as we have heard, calls "President of the Lower Assembly;" though the truth is, that neither the Archbishop as presiding over the one, nor Prolocutor as presiding over the other, prorogues either of them; but each House prorogues itself, and the proper person in each intimates or notifies the prorogation.

These are slight exceptions; it is more material what is objected,

3. From the Upper House Acts, that "the prorogations are there always expressed in such terms as evidently include the whole Convocation: *hanc Convocationem hujusmodi Conv. præsentem sacram Synod' sive Conv' Prælator' et Cleri Prov. Cant.*" The

* See Journals of the House of Commons, March 1603.

true answer to which is, that the adjournments in the House of Peers have for two hundred years last past been in like manner entered upon their books. “*Dominus Cancellarius continuavit præsens Parliamentum*”, or “*continuavit et prorogavit præsens Parliamentum*,” or “*declaravit esse continuandum* ;” and yet the act of the Chancellor adjourns the Lords only. This phrase in the Lords’ Journal had its rise, I suppose, in early days, when, the division of the Two Houses being not yet complete, the whole Parliament was by one act adjourned ; and hath been kept up still, ever since the separation, in memory of elder practice, though without its full and original meaning. The same account may be given of the “*præsens Convocatio, Provincialis Synodus*,” and the like, said in the Bishops’ Registers to be adjourned : whatever these phrases anciently imported, when the entire Body of the Convocation was prorogued at once, they do now signify the Upper House only, and include always the tacit condition, “*quoad hanc Domum*,” which hath in the Lower House books been sometimes expressed.

And it is the less to be wondered that these words, “*Convocatio*” and “*Synodus*,” should thus be restrained to the Upper House, when it is considered that they are sometimes put for the Lower House alone ; of which there are forty instances, I believe, in the minutes after the Restoration, where the “*Convocatio*” or “*Synodus*” is said to be continued, and yet the Lower House only is to be understood. And even the Prolocutor is there, on the 14th of March, 1677, styled, “*Convocationis præsentis Prolocutor sive Referendarius* ;” which was

no mistake of Mr. Mundy's, nor a title then first conferred upon him; for in a sentence of suspension pronounced by Archbishop Bancroft, A. D. 1606, I find him thus named, "*Prolocutor dictæ Convocationis* *." In like manner an elder register, at the year 1480, tells us, that William Pykenham, Archdeacon of Suffolk, was presented "*in Prolocutorem dicti Concilii per totum Clerum electum* †." In another sentence declared by Dr. Yale, A. D. 1562, the Lower House itself is called "*Domus inferioris Convocationis*." All this Archbishop Parker knew very well, who, therefore, in his speech to the Convocation of 1572, before recited, useth this compellation, "*Inferioris Concilii dilecti fratres*;" and in *Antiq. Britann.* (which he reviewed) constantly employs "*superior*" and "*inferior Synodus*" to express the Upper and Lower House of Convocation ‡. So that the words "*Synodus, Concilium,*" and "*Convocatio,*" are indifferently applied to signify either House or both, according as the matter to which they relate, and the circumstances in which they are used, determine the sense of them.

To this it is replied, "that, in the Archbishop's prorogations, both the Upper and Lower House are distinctly expressed, *Convocationem Provincialem Prælatorum et Cleri Cant. Prov.* and both, therefore, must be prorogued by him." I do not see the consequence; for still, even this expression may be understood with the latent reserve, "*quoad hanc Domum,*"

* See his Register, fol. 138.

† Bouchier, fol. 26. b.

‡ See p. 316. 323. 341. 379. 384, 385. 401. Lond. edit.

as well as the others; but if that be thought too hard, the Reader may be pleased to receive this further account of it. The first schedule of prorogation, wherein the Prelates and Clergy are distinctly expressed, is of the year 1670; and it was put in there by the mistake of Mr. Mundy, the drawer of the schedule, who, though otherwise of good account in his profession, appears to have been a man utterly unacquainted with forms of this kind, and unable to word them skilfully. The Reader will not think I injure his memory, when he knows, that in this very schedule, and in an hundred succeeding ones drawn by him in the following years, he constantly styles the Archbishop, when proroguing in person, "*Præsidentis, five locumtenens, ad id sufficienter et legitimè fulcitus;*" and, where the Archbishop acts by a Deputy, that Deputy is called "*Reverendissimi Præsidentis, five locumtenentis Commissarius, five Substitutus;*" which are expressions so improper every way, and absurd, that they betray a deep degree of ignorance in him who used them: for, allowing the mistake of his calling the Archbishop "*Præsidentis*" to be easily fallen into, because in English the Archbishop was used to be so called; yet how he could apply the word "*Locumtenens*" to him, which can signify nothing but a Deputy or Commissary, and was never otherwise employed in or out of Convocation, is strange. And it is stranger yet, that he should not see this gross error, when the Archbishop made a Commissioner to prorogue for him; but go on still to name that Commissioner, "*Præsidentis five locumtenentis Commissarius, five Substitutus,*" that is, the Commissary
of

of a Commissary. No wonder if in such a schedule the phrase "*Prælatorum et Cleri Cant. Prov.*" was first introduced, with no greater propriety or ground from precedents than either of the former. The occasion of his mistake, I believe, was thus: the fire in 1666 had destroyed the schedules; and Mundy, being at a loss for a form, fell unluckily upon one where the Bishop of London, as Commissary to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, did, by virtue of a Royal writ, prorogue the whole Convocation (for with these circumstances the schedule, and all the terms of it, strictly agree), and wisely applied it to the Archbishop's ordinary adjournments. The phrase, "*Prælatorum et Cleri,*" having no better a birth than this, nothing more, I think, need be said to disgrace it with every intelligent Reader. After all, we are told,

4. That "the effect of those words, '*Præfers Convocatio,*' and '*Sacra Synodus,*' &c. must determine their meaning; and that the effect of them hath constantly been the prorogation of the Lower as well as of the Upper House. This is proved, because, whenever there was an adjournment by these words in the Upper House, there was also a concurrent prorogation in the Lower*." But this assertion is made at a venture, and, could it be proved true, would not yet bear all that weight that is laid upon it. It can never be made out that the prorogations in both Houses were always concurrent, because the proof of it depends upon concurrent Journals; and how little of this kind of evidence is left, I have said already.

* Letter, p. 4. col. 1.

But supposing the prorogations of each House had been almost always to the same time, doth it follow that they must have been made by the same authority? Might not two bodies, which had perpetual occasions of consulting each other, agree to make their adjournments coincident for their mutual convenience? I am sure this was the case often as to the Two Houses of Parliament, who have sat throughout a whole Session upon the very same days, and did use to give one another notice when they adjourned for any time, that they might contrive to sit together; and yet continued themselves always by their own authority. An instance or two of this kind will be instructive to the Reader.

March 22. 1620, (the Journal of the Lords says) " A
" message to the Lower House, to let them understand
" that the Lords have agreed the recess from Parliament
" for this time to be on Tuesday next; and that the Lords
" do leave the time for the access again to the confide-
" ration of the Commons."

May 17. 1621, " A message to the Commons, that
" their Lordships, out of their desire to hold good corre-
" spondency between both Houses, have thought good
" to signify unto them, that their Lordships do intend to
" sit no more after this morning until Thursday next."
The Commons sent them word, " that they would ad-
" journ to the same day;" and so again on May 29,
1621, and in a multitude of other instances:

Such was the old practice of Parliament, and, when the usage began to vary there, was still kept up in Convocation; the strict union of the Bishops with their Presbyters out of Convocation, contributing to make

their correspondence in it more close and lasting than it could well be between the Two Houses of the Temporality : so that the adjournments of the Clergy below have been generally adapted to those above, not of necessity, but choice, and for the mutual convenience of both Houses. And this I take to be one chief reason of the Archbishop's signing a schedule of prorogation all along, that the Lower House might have a more formal and honourable notice of what was done above than could come to them by the hands of a common messenger ; and an opportunity by that means of making their Session (if business so required) concurrent with that of the Bishops: but the schedule itself laid them under no such obligation, nor did the signing or publishing of it above include or concern them.

The true state of our present dispute hath been said to be, where the seat of that power is by which the Lower House is adjourned ; whether in the House itself, or in the Archbishop ? Should it prove to be in the House, then it comes to be enquired, whether the House, by the antient custom of Convocation, be not obliged to meet the Bishops at the day which they shall appoint ? I will not say but they are, if any synodical business be then in agitation. But still this is a new question ; and, however decided, makes neither for nor against the power of the Lower House to adjourn itself ; and therefore (to resume our argument) could it, which it cannot possibly be evinced, that the Upper House of Convocation never sat without a parallel Session of the Lower ; yet will not this prove that the Lower House were continued by any other authority than

than their own ; nor that they could not have continued themselves to a nearer day, and have sat before the Bishops, upon an intermediate adjournment.

5. It is alledged, that there are some instances in 1586, where the Lower House did not adjourn itself, and yet met the Bishops afterward on their day ; and must therefore have been included in the prorogation made above : for example, the Lower House book says, " 6 Martii, comparuerunt magistri D. Powel, Say, " Gilpin, West, & Maxfield hujus domûs, quibus in- " timatum fuit hujusmodi Convocationem de mandato et " voluntate Reverendissimi esse continuandam in diem " Merc. prout reverâ continuata fuit. Unde postea dis- " cesserunt," &c. But,

1. It is extremely probable that, in this and other like cases in that book, there was always a formal continuation of the Lower House by the Prolocutor or his Deputy, though the Actuary hath not always taken care to express it ; for sometimes he hath, as on March 11. Some of the Lower House (says he) appeared, " quibus intimatum fuit hujusmodi Convocationem esse " continuandam usque in diem Mercurii de mandato Re- " verendissimi, prout reverâ sic continuata fuit per ma- " gistrum Lucam Gilpin sufficienter et legitimè in eâ " parte deputatum," that is, deputed by the Prolocutor to adjourn the Lower House, of which Gilpin was a member. In the acts of the preceding Convocation of this year, when there was nothing but a bare adjournment of the Lower House, it is set down always, together with the deputation by which it was at any time made; and so it is in the minutes of 1640 afterwards.

This being the known, constant practice, and already taken notice of by the Actuary, *toties quoties*, in his Journal of the first Convocation, might be the reason that he made his entries less exactly and formally in the second: for it was not then a doubt whether the Lower House had a power of adjourning itself; nor, consequently, could it be foreseen that the omission of such forms would be any way to its prejudice. However,

2. Should we allow (what never need be allowed) that the Convocation was sometimes continued above only, upon an ordinary adjournment; and that the Lower Clergy, without adjourning themselves, took notice of it, and met accordingly; yet would not even this allowance any way affect their claim: for the Convocation subsists by the King's writ; and till, therefore, it is prorogued by his writ, the Two Houses (into which, when met, it divides, by the same custom as the Parliament doth) subsist also; and are not rendered incapable of acting as such, by any discontinuance of their Sessions. For it is a mistake to think that adjournments are so necessary to the very being of an House, that it would sink without an uninterrupted succession of them nicely observed. The true notion of an adjournment is, that it puts off or continues the business of the House to a further day, and informs the Members when they are to meet next about it, and will be under the displeasure of the House if they do not. It is true, when once such a day is positively fixed, they cannot, I believe, by their own authority anticipate it, because they have concluded themselves by their own act, and left no room to re-call it.

it. But (which is our present case) should they all fail to meet on the day appointed, and come together the day afterwards, they would still be a legal Assembly to all intents and purposes; the discontinuance of the House would not dissolve it; but it might at any time, during the force of the writ, be resumed. Thus much we may gather from a practice familiar at this day among the Lords, who adjourn their House at pleasure, and resume it, as they see fit, an hour or two afterwards; and for the same reason might, doubtless, resume it a day or a week after: and if they have no such precedents upon their books, it is because they had never any occasion for them: for if it be in the power of the House to revive itself a minute after it hath once dropped, it may revive itself at what distance soever, while the Parliament lasts. Indeed, the whole time of the Parliament's sitting being looked upon as one day, and the acts made in every Session taking place accordingly from the first moment of it (without some provision to the contrary), there hath been a great nicety in point of adjournments introduced into Parliament, in order to continue and unite the several Sessions of it: and yet these formalities are not so strictly observed there, but that either House meets often not till an hour or two after the time it hath prescribed, and yet doth not think that it ceases to be an House because of that discontinuance. Now, by this rule, the Lower House of Convocation (which hath not the same reason to tie itself up to all these niceties as the Houses of Parliament have) may meet not till one day, two, or three, after that to which it hath adjourned; and yet, when it meets, be

as legal an House as if it had peremptorily before-hand fixed that time of assembling. Supposing then that, in the instances of 1586, no separate continuation of the Lower House was made, we are not from thence to infer that it was included in the continuation of the Upper; but only that the Lower House intermitted to meet for a time when no business was before them (as there was none in all those cases), and resumed its Session afterwards as it saw occasion.

As for the "Mandatum Reverendissimi," by which these continuations are said to have been made, it is certainly an improper expression of the Actuary, being against the current phrase of the Journals, which constantly represent the Archbishop as continuing "cum consensu Suffraganeorum;" whereas, if these words are proper, he adjourns arbitrarily, and without consulting them. The Lower House, therefore, notwithstanding the phrase here used, might freely adjourn themselves, as it is certain the Upper House did; for it affects neither or both of them.

6. Another thing objected is, that there is no colour or foot-step of any such claim as the Lower House now make "in the Convocation-acts remaining in the Archbishop's Registers before the Reformation *." But can it be expected that the Upper House books (for the Archbishop's Registers are no more) should afford a clear proof of the powers and privileges of the Lower Clergy? Would the Commons think it an objection to any of their rights, that no account of them is to be found in the Journals of the Lords? or, to bring the case

* Page 2. col. 2.

nearer to a parallel, in the old Rolls of Parliament, which were made up in the House of Peers; and where, to be sure, no care was taken to record things that made for the rights and privileges of the Commons? The Clerk of the Upper House, either of Parliament or Convocation, could not well take notice of what the Commons Temporal or Spiritual did, but when he himself was an eye-witness of it; that is, when the Two Houses were together: but what the Lower did apart, either as to adjournments or other points, could never regularly be entered above: and yet, after all, it so happens that even from the old Registers of the Archbishop enough may be drawn, to shew the right which the Lower House always had to separate continuations; as I have in part proved already, and could amply confirm if it were worth our while nicely to enquire what the practice was three hundred years ago, when we have so many surer and nearer evidences to guide us; and when, whatever it was heretofore, it must have been utterly changed in this respect by the Statute of Submission.

For this reason the accounts given by the Sheet-author of the origin of the Lower House, if they were true, yet are nothing to the purpose; particularly what he says of the Clergy's debating heretofore in a corner of that Chapter-house where the Bishops sat; which is mentioned by him with such a scornful air as neither becomes his cause, nor is likely to serve it. All we need reply to it is, that it is an old tale of several hundred years standing, and fit to be taken by the relater into the corner from whence he drew it.

7. The oldest Convocation-men now living are vouched, as testifying "that they always reckoned themselves included in the prorogation made in the Upper House *." But their testimony, how express soever, would signify little, any further than it related to what was done between 1661 and 1664: for all after that may be supposed to have been a continued dream, in which the Convocation slept over their privileges; and, having once let go the great right of taxing themselves, might be less careful to secure the others. And as to the precedents in point of adjournment from 1661 to 1664, perhaps it would puzzle an old Convocation-man at this distance, to be very exact and particular in his relations concerning them. Old mens memories fail them sometimes; and crafty men now and then have convenient memories; and perhaps too, were the whole sett of old members called upon, their testimony in this case might differ. Sure I am, that a Lower-House Member of the Irish Convocation in 1664, now living and in London, is very positive that his brethren did not look upon themselves as "included in the Prorogation of the Upper House," but continued their House separately, and to different days. And it will be granted, I believe, that the Irish Lower House had not greater privileges than the English one; because it had them from hence originally, and was wont, in all it did, only to copy the English pattern. And as to the practice here at home, I have some time ago seen a proof of it which I take to be of great moment; it is the extracts of Dr. Heylin out of the Upper House book, from 1529

* Page 3. col. 1.

for above fifty years downwards. They are taken partly in Latin, and partly in English; and where the form of continuation is translated by him, his expression in hundreds of instances is, "the House adjourned." The advantage I make of this is, that the extracter was certainly of opinion that the Archbishop's schedule adjourned his own House only: and his opinion is of weight, because he lived when the records of both Houses were entire, and is known to have understood Convocation-matters better than any man of his time. After all, we need go no further than the Lower House minutes since the Restoration, to disprove the pretended testimony of these old Convocation-men; for those minutes (as I have shewn), wherever an adjournment is set down, speak of it always as an act of the House, or in such terms at least as are perfectly consistent with its being so. And if any one who was then a Member of Convocation be really persuaded that the practice was otherwise (which is more than I know), his mistake must arise from a remembrance of the concurrent adjournments of either House, without any distinct notion of the manner in which they were made.

8. Nothing now remains, I think, to be considered, but a conjecture built upon the silence of the Convocation in 1689, when, it seems, "a Committee was appointed to inspect the Registers, in order to adjust the privileges of both Houses; and then the Lower Clergy did not think the quotations now produced any ground for such a claim as their successors in the present Convocation advance *." The Convocation of 1689

* Page 3. col. 2.

was too much taken up with other kind of debates to be at leisure to think of this. They met at so nice a juncture, and struggled with such difficulties in the birth, that it was no wonder if the Members were willing to be dismissed as soon as was possible, and thought that itself, as matters then stood, a great point gained. But as to a Committee of Privileges then said to be appointed, it is all pure fiction; for the Committee here meant was determined to consider one point only, how the precedents stood in relation to messages sent up by the Lower House without their Prolocutor; and even this Committee itself appears not ever to have sat, and, it is certain, made no report; so that of what use a mention of it could be on the present head of debate, I am at a loss to imagine.

This is all I can pick up from the Letter, or Dr. Kenner's late piece, which seems any way to affect the claim of the Lower House in the point of prorogations. I have considered what I found of this kind with all possible fairness, neither concealing a single difficulty, nor dissembling the force of it. I was rather willing that this dispute should run out into an inconvenient length, than that any thing should remain without an answer which might be thought to deserve one. And now, after having produced the evidences on the one side, and weighed them thus impartially against the objections on the other, I may have leave, I hope, to say, what I doubt not every Reader has already said to himself, that the Lower Clergy in Convocation have an unquestionable right of adjourning themselves; and that the seat of that power by which they are adjourned is
neither

neither in the Archbishop solely, nor in him and his Suffragans jointly, but in the Lower House.

The Clergy, therefore, are very justifiable in entering on this dispute with their Bishops. The only remaining question is, how well they have managed it; whether with that temper, decency, and duty, which became them? And upon this head the Letter itself has nothing to object to them; and we may be sure, therefore, that they are faultless. If some dissenting members of theirs have whispered about any little stories to their prejudice in this respect, they have done it against their own knowledge and conscience: for it is certain that never any body of men maintained a dispute of that length and consequence with more calmness, or greater deference to their superiors, in which they persisted to the very last, notwithstanding the frequent changes of the question, the slights and unreasonable hardships of every sort, which were, in the several steps of this debate, put upon them. The proof of this will appear in its full light, when a just account of their proceedings shall be given to the world. The only fear is, lest, upon a perusal of it, their friends should be of opinion that they have rather stooped too much than too little: for the Members of the Lower House, when assembled, are no longer to be looked upon as so many private persons, but as the legal representatives of eight or ten thousand men in Holy Orders, and carrying in them the weight of the whole Clergy of the Province. And under this view, they may reasonably hope for good usage at least, if not for some little degree of respect, from their betters.

It

It is true what the Letter observes, "that a diminution of the honour and authority of the Bishops" would be of ill consequence to the Clergy themselves; and God forbid, therefore, that any of them should endeavour it! But it ought withal to be considered, that my Lords the Bishops' honour and authority is best secured by supporting the rights and interest of the Lower Orders; and that the more considerable the persons governed are, the greater esteem and influence will they have who govern them. Their Lordships move in a great sphere, and have great friends to stand by them; and yet their surest hold is in the hearts of their Clergy; which they can never fail of, while they are in their true interests, shew themselves ready to hearken to all their just claims, and inclined rather to enlarge than abridge their privileges.

Their Lordships may frame to themselves what schemes they please about the springs of these unhappy differences*. But it is certain that they lie no lower than in an observation of the steps taken of late years towards suppressing the rights and very being of Convocations; and it may not be improper here, in the close of the sheets, to touch upon some part of them.

When the Clergy met in 1689, a new sort of licence was, by somebody's advice and connivance, put upon them, which hindered them, as far as such a licence could, from treating of any thing but what the Crown expressly proposed. After that, the Clergy at every Parliament were constantly dismissed as soon as they met; and never allowed to form themselves into a Body,

* See Letter, p. 1. col. 1.

or chuse a Prolocutor. Books were published under the cover of great names, wherein it was laid down as law, that they were totally incapable of entering on any debate whatsoever, without a broad seal to empower them; that they had no right to meet and sit with the Parliament, but only to be summoned; and that it were no great matter whether they had any such right of being summoned or not. A practice suitable to this doctrine was coming on apace; the Convocation-writs were dropped in Ireland, and the writ for one Province here in England was stifled, and no words made of it; nor was it known how soon the writ for the other might follow. But the worst circumstance of all was, that they who should have screened the Lower Orders from such encroachments as these, were so far misunderstood as to be thought consenting to them, and in the measures that occasioned them.

It was high time, therefore, for the Clergy to take the alarm, to do their utmost towards retrieving those privileges which they had over-looked, and towards preserving those that were left; and their endeavour to do this was the true spring and occasion of the present struggle: in which though they have met with great opposition, yet are they not discouraged, because the more difficulties they find laid in their way towards ending this dispute, the more convinced they are that it was absolutely necessary to begin it.

I have one request to leave with the Reader, that wherever in these Papers I mention the Bishops as opposing the claim of the Lower Clergy, he would under-

understand me, not of the whole Bench; but only of a large majority of them; in like manner as their Lordships desire to be understood, when they speak of the proceedings and pretensions of the Inferior Clergy: for there are (to their great honour be it spoken) several of that venerable Body, who have all along in this dispute dissented from the majority of their House; Prelates of great experience in Church-affairs, and such as have sat longer in their Sees than almost any of their Order. This gives a greater advantage to the cause of the Lower Clergy than the opposition of some of their Members doth to that of the Bishops; since those Right Reverend Persons, who above declare for the Lower House, can do it only out of a conviction that their pretensions are highly just and reasonable; whereas several of those below, who adhere to the Bishops, may be supposed to be under such influences as will not give them leave to be impartial.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Proposals are published for printing the Works of DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS, with very great Improvements; by J. HUDSON, Keeper of the Bodleian Library; and the Chronology is added by the learned HENRY DODWELL.

Also Proposals for a Greek Testament in large Folio, with a Greek Scholia on the whole; by the late learned Mr. Archdeacon GREGORY, revised and recommended by Dr. JANE Dean of Gloucester, Dr. ALDRIDGE Dean of Christ-Church, Dr. SHERLOCK Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. CAVE, Dr. ALSTON, Dr. LANCASTER, Dr. ATTERBURY, and Mr. DUKE.

* * Those Gentlemen who are willing to encourage these Works, are desired to send in their Subscriptions (being only 5s. to each) with their Names, because a List of them is to be added to the Books; Specimens are delivered by the Undertaker, Thomas Bennet; and Subscriptions taken by him and most other Booksellers.

VIII. SPEECH TO THE CLERGY OF THE
ARCHDEACONRY OF TOTNESS, 1702.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

WHEN, by the goodness of God, and the bounty of our Right Reverend Diocesan * (a name never to be mentioned by me, or by any true Son of the Church of England, but with the utmost marks of respect and honour), I was placed in this station †; there was nothing I more earnestly desired than to take the earliest opportunity of coming down hither, and of discharging, to the best of my ability, that sacred trust which he had been pleased to repose in me.

At the time I should have completed these intentions a Convocation was sitting, which met the last year, after a long intermission of such assemblies. Among the many other ill consequences of that intermission, this was one, that the knowledge of the forms and methods of proceeding was little understood, and could not easily or soon be retrived from those poor remains of the Journals of either House which were left unconsumed by the great fire of London. This want of light occasioned some mistaken claims and practices, which were inconsistent with the privileges of the Lower House, that is, of all the Inferior Clergy of this Province, who are there represented and concluded, and laid the Members

* Sir Jonathan Trelawny. See vol. I. p. 416.

† He was installed Archdeacon Jan. 29, 1700-1; see vol. I. p. 71. This speech was delivered in May 1702.

of it under an unhappy necessity, either of giving up those rights, or of contending with their Superiors in behalf of them; the most displeasing task that could befall an English Episcopal Clergy; of which there was never before any one instance in story: as it is the hope and prayer of all good men that, after this difference is quieted, there may never be another.

During these disputes, the strict attendance of the Members was judged requisite; especially of such of them as had happened in any measure to turn their thoughts towards those studies and enquiries which were useful at that juncture: and it was reckoned that, as things then stood, the publick might receive greater advantage from their services in that way than in any other. I in particular presumed that my Reverend Brethren of this district, who were known to be so heartily and unanimously concerned for the true interests of the Church, would think me better employed in promoting those ends above, than in a personal attendance on my duty here below; the discharge of which I shall, by the blessing of God, never decline, but for such reasons as will easily justify me with every man that knows them. My distance, I am sure, shall never be my excuse; which ought indeed to have hindered me from undertaking a charge had I foreseen that it would have made me incapable at any time of executing it, but can never justify my omitting to execute what I have once undertaken.

What were the heads of our dispute at that time, how it was managed, and what issue it had, is a subject to which I suppose none here present are strangers.

Nor

Nor do I desire to revive the memory of these things, but had much rather, if it so pleased God, that they were from henceforth buried altogether in silence; and that no future occasion may be given by those in whose power it was to have prevented the dispute at first, either for us to remember them, or to put others in mind of them.

Under this hope we came together once again, at the last Convocation, with sincere inclinations to peace on the side of the Lower House, which they manifested in two remarkable instances.

First, though they were under the fullest convictions of their right of adjourning themselves to any intermediate time, and of sitting and acting during the intervals of the Upper House adjournments; yet, knowing that the actual exercise of this right would be an occasion of keeping up the disputes which had hitherto interrupted the correspondence with my Lords the Bishops, they chose totally to forbear it, and contented themselves to meet always precisely at the same day and hour when the Upper House met; and when they had continued so to do for some time, they at last appointed a Committee to consider of a method of accommodating and laying asleep for the future all disputes about the chief point then contested between them and their Superiors. That this Committee might answer its design, they took care that it should consist of such persons as were known to be of different sentiments on that head, and that a full half of the members composing it should be of the number of those who had hitherto declared themselves unsatisfied with the claims made by the rest of their

Brethren. This Committee had the desired success; and did entirely, without the least doubt or disagreement, fall into such resolutions as were by all of them judged effectual towards healing the present unhappy breach, and opening again the correspondence between the Two Houses.

How this expedient failed afterwards of taking place, by the death of the Prolocutor * happening just upon the close of it, by a new dispute started on that occasion, and by the consequent dismissal of the Synod, is now needless, and perhaps improper to repeat, because it cannot be done without some seeming reflection on those who laid hold of this *incident*, in order once more to perplex affairs, and hinder the Convocation from proceeding on business. And since there is still hope that a new meeting with the next Parliament may adjust all differences, it will become us rather respectfully to cover them for the present, than to say any thing that may keep them alive and widen them. Nor would I have mentioned the former particulars, but in order to shew that the Lower House were sincerely desirous of such an union and good understanding, as we all know to be absolutely requisite towards retrieving the honour and advantages of an English Synod, and making it useful to all the great purposes of Religion for which it is designed. But thus much I must be allowed to say, that if it hath not as yet reached that end, and answered the expectations of all good and wise men in that particular, the fault was not in the Inferior Clergy, who took every step towards an accommodation that it was possible for them to take, without giving up the

* See vol. I. p. 74.

Rights and very being of their House, and rendering such Assemblies, and their acting, altogether precarious.

Nor let it be thought that the point contended for by them was too little and insignificant to justify so long and zealous a dispute: for whatever it may, upon the first view, seem; it will, upon further consideration, be found to be an article of the utmost importance, and worth all that struggle which was employed in it; since, without securing the Right of the Lower House to judge of the times proper for its own sitting and acting, it will be impossible to secure any of their other legal Rights and Privileges at such junctures when the administration of Ecclesiastical affairs shall hereafter happen to fall into hands that may allow themselves to be made instruments of suppressing Synods, and of serving the ill design of those who are the restless enemies of this Established Church and Constitution.

God be thanked, these are now dangers at a distance, while we have a Gracious Queen on the Throne, who we are sure will be so far from doing any harm to the Church, that she will not, in her time, suffer any to be done to it. But as distant as these dangers are, they may one day come; and when they do, there is no fence against them, but from the inherent power of the Lower House to appoint the times of its own sitting and rising. And therefore, were the preservation of this single Right the only point gained in the late meetings of the Clergy, yet posterity will say, that even on this account neither their zeal nor time was ill employed.

But it is well known that they had other designs in view, beside this of securing their Preliminary Rights;

and particularly made attempts towards procuring a redress of several grievances which lay upon the Clergy of this Province, and towards preserving the doctrine of the Church, contained in the XXXIX Articles, free from corrupt glosses and false *Expositions* *; in which if they succeeded not altogether according to their desire, yet is not the want of that success to be attributed to them, who took all the steps that were proper to obtain it; and would have made themselves useful in that way which may be thought to have best become their function and character, if their applications had been as favourably received as the importance and justice of them seemed to require.

In one thing they were fully justified by a late event, as to the reasonableness of what they offered for reviving the too long disused execution of the Bishop's Parliamentary Writ on the Diocesan Clergy concerned in it. Which practice, had it been kept up in every diocese of the kingdom, as it was in *this* and some others, had prevented the late dissolution of the Synod, and given the Clergy a title to a Parliamentary attendance upon the foot of the late statute, notwithstanding the death of his Majesty, by which that meeting alone determined, which was called and held by the King's provincial writ to the Archbishop. Nor had we now seen such a new thing as our Constitution before was utterly a stranger to, the instance of a Parliament sitting, without a concurrent Convocation of the Clergy.

The sudden dismissal and dissolution of this last Synod gave me no liberty of being present here, but what I was before fully determined to have taken had it

* See vol. I. p. 87.

continued to sit: for by the enquiries that had been made on the heads debated, the Lower House were now so fully apprised of their Rights, and of the methods of asserting them, that the assistance of no one member could be missed. But it so happened, that, at the moment when I was setting out for these parts, I received commands for attending a great solemnity *, which I could not disobey. This, with some other accidents, which it was not easy for me at that distance, and in the entrance on my office, to foresee and prevent, occasioned some uncertainty in the notice given of the times of visitation, and I fear laid my Reverend Brethren of the Clergy under some inconveniences; for which I think myself obliged to make my public excuse to them; and to assure them, that in succeeding years such uncertainties shall be remedied.

I come hither at present a stranger, in order to acquaint myself with the posture of affairs in this district, as far as the jurisdiction committed to me is concerned, and to get such a sure and full insight into them, as may enable me hereafter to return hither better qualified to do that little good, which the great discouragements that of late years have been laid on these courts, and the neglects by that means occasioned in the exercise of the powers belonging to them, will suffer to be done. And I have foreborn therefore to entertain you with any discourse relating either to my own duty, or that of other men; reserving such addresses to a time when I shall be more fully instructed in the matter of them, and better prepared by experience to offer some thoughts to you

* Either the royal funeral or coronation. See vol. I. p. 129.

which may, with your help, be of common advantage to us.

In the mean time, I make it my earnest request to this Reverend Auditory, to afford me the best light and assistance they can in this case, and to inform me of all such faults and defects as they may have observed in the administration of the Spiritual jurisdiction, and of their thoughts about the most proper ways and means of amending them. They cannot do me a more kind and welcome office than by imparting such observations, which I shall always gratefully acknowledge, and improve according to the best of my skill and ability.

I have one thing at present to offer to you, by the particular command of my Lord Bishop, that *you* would, *together with the Church-wardens*, subscribe the *Registers* now delivered in by them, as the 70th Canon expressly directs; and I have a further request to add to this, that you would also sign their Presentments*, which, though good and valid when made separately either by the Church-wardens or by the Minister alone, yet seem better to answer the intentions and expressions of the 118th Canon, when *exhibited jointly* by both of them; and I am sure are, when so subscribed, more likely to reach the ends for which they are intended, and to satisfy me that they are as compleat and full, in all respects, as they ought to be: without which be done, the design of these Visitations is lost.

* See p. 222.

IX. SPEECH TO THE CLERGY OF THE
ARCHDEACONRY OF TOTNESS, 1703.

THE last time we met, I gave you some account of the unhappy dispute then depending between the Two Houses of Convocation; and I hoped by this time * to have told you that it was ended, and had given way to business of a more public nature and influence, in which the world justly expects, and all who wish well to Religion and the Church heartily desire, that such Assemblies may be ever employed. But (with great concern I speak it) those wounds are still unclosed; and by that means the designs which many good men had of rendering Synods useful and venerable, and of restoring the life and power as well as the form of them, hath been hitherto defeated. I delight not to dwell on so melancholy a subject. However, I think it a debt due to the Lower Clergy of this Province, briefly to inform you what steps were taken, and proposals made, by them towards accommodating matters with their Superiors: by which, however unsuccessful, you will see that they have effectually removed the present blame of this division from their own doors, and shewed themselves as desirous of peace, if upon any reasonable terms it might be had, as they were of securing their just rights and privileges when invaded. The subject is no way foreign to the design of these meetings; for if ever this or any other inferior Ecclesiastical Court regain its due strength and authority,

* In April 1703. See vol. I. p. 196.

it must be by a proper influence and countenance derived from the Supreme Church Tribunal, a Convocation: together with which, all lesser jurisdictions, the use of them, and reverence for them, must always sink or rise, prosper or decay.

This desire of theirs they manifested, when, in the very entrance of the last Convocation, they made the following humble application to their Lordships, which I crave leave to repeat to you in the very terms wherein it was delivered *.

[* * * * *]

This application was so reasonable, decent, and dutiful, that it could not but produce some advances on the side of their Lordships, who therefore some time afterwards made the two following proposals.

“ 1. That the Lower House might *meet* in Committees, to *prepare* business *between* the synodical prorogations.

“ 2. That *when* business *should be before* the Convocation, the Archbishop *would* so order the prorogations, that sufficient time *should be allowed* for the considering and finishing of it.”

The Clergy saw that, upon the foot of these proposals, their *acting* and very *being* would be entirely precarious, and that a compliance with them would be so far from bringing the dispute to a *final determination* (as they expressly desired), that it would not lay it asleep for one moment longer than the business they entered upon should be grateful to their Superiors, in whose power it was

* See it in vol. I. p. 136.

left to suffer them to act, or not to act, as an House, as they should see occasion.

They therefore once more earnestly besought their Lordships, that they would please to suggest *such* a method of accommodating this difference, as would *totally silence* it for the future, and put it out of the *power* of *either* House to *interrupt* the business of Convocation, by reviving any disputes about the forms and rules of proceeding.

Their Lordships *wholly* declined this proposal; and, instead of offering any thing suitable to it, transmitted to the Lower House a Paper containing the *reasons* of their claim (reasons which they had often before urged, and which had as often been answered), and of the *necessity* they were under of insisting upon it.

The Lower House now thought it high *time* to *make* some proposal of this kind, since they were not likely to *receive* any, and did therefore *lay* before their Lordships the *following* request; the *recital* of which will not, I hope, be tedious to you *.

[* * * * *]

This last desire of theirs was no more listened to than any of the former; they were only *once* again told, that the Upper House had an *unquestioned* right to what they claimed, *could* not depart from it, nor submit it to *any* arbitration whatsoever.

There was therefore nothing left for the Clergy, but either to *sit down contented* with the *loss* of their rights, and with the *suspension* of all *synodical* business; or to make a separate application to the Queen, praying

* See vol. I. p. 139.

her Royal interposition and judgement in the matters depending. They did so; but, before this petition could be offered, the session of Parliament was far spent; and the great affairs of the kingdom then under agitation, and the utter averfeness of my Lord Bishops to submit to this or any umpirage, hindered it from taking effect for the present, so that the distance between the *two* Houses continues still as wide as ever.

I have recounted to you, Reverend Brethren, all the steps taken by your Representatives in this whole affair, that you may the better judge what ground there is for those calumnies with which they have been liberally loaded; as if they had designed to obstruct any accommodation, or had not done every thing which it was possible for them to do in order to promote it; as if their conduct were attended with circumstances of disrespect to my Lords the Bishops, or they had made use of this last method of recourse to the Throne before they had tried all others, and utterly despaired of succeeding by them.

You will, I doubt not, justify them to yourselves in all these respects; and I dare say the worthy persons who represented this particular Diocese have acted with as full an approbation from you in this Synod as they did in any of the former; and would find, on that account, that your confidence in them was no way lessened, if a new choice should give you a new occasion of expressing it.

The men who take pleasure in traducing their brethren have endeavoured to expose those of them who appeared steady in this cause, under the invidious name
of

of *High Churchmen*. What they mean by that word, I cannot tell. But if an *High Churchman* be one who is for keeping up the present Ecclesiastical Constitution in all its parts, without making any *illegal* abatements in favour of such as either openly oppose or secretly undermine it; one, who though he lives peaceably with all men of different persuasions, and endeavours to win them over by methods of lenity and kindness, yet is not charitable and moderate enough to depart from the Establishment (even while it stands fixed by a law) in order to meet them half-way in their opinions and practices; one, who thinks the Canons and Rubrick of the Church, and the Acts of Parliament made in favour of it, ought strictly to be observed and kept up to, till they shall, upon a prospect of a thorough compliance from those without (if such a case may be supposed), be released in any respect by a competent authority; I say, if this be the character of an *High Churchman* (how odious a sound soever that name may carry), I see no reason why any man should be displeased with the title, because such an *High Churchman* is certainly a good *Christian*, and a good *Englishman*.

But, to see the inconsistency of these men in their reproaches! At the same time that they have represented many of their Brethren as too stiffly addicted to the rules and principles of this Church, they have ventured to asperse them also as no friends to the sacred order of Bishops, which is the corner-stone and pillar of our Church-fabrick; and without a due regard for which it is impossible that *Presbyters* here in England should be *High Churchmen*, or indeed any Churchmen at all.

God

God forgive them who have coined and applied these opprobrious distinctions, and endeavoured to make others believe what, without breach of charity we may say, they never believed themselves. It would be just as gross and senseless a calumny, should any man pretend to blast the Clergy of this Diocese as any way disaffected or undutiful to the Right Reverend Diocesan, towards whom all the world knows that they bear so profound a respect and honour as can be equalled by nothing but his Lordship's paternal care and love of them, his zeal for their interests and service. Give me leave, by the way, to say that; of which he hath given one late and convincing instance, by moving the Crown for a release of the arrears of tenths and first-fruits upon all livings under thirty pounds a year in the Queen's books, in this and all other Dioceses; and what he has thus moved for, he hath been so happy as to obtain *.

And yet, so far was this absurd slander carried, that the Lower House were reduced to a necessity of justifying themselves under their hands, by declaring their opinion of the divine right of Episcopacy, and beseeching their Lordships' concurrence in that declaration, which nevertheless they could not obtain.

Under these difficulties and disappointments, it is no wonder if the Clergy should have been utterly disheartened from proceeding on any synodical business, which nevertheless they attempted on several heads; but, receiving no encouragement from those who should have given life to their endeavours, desisted from their

* The same indulgence was afterwards granted to the Clergy of Ireland, at the intercession of Dr. Swift.

attempts,

attempts, and resolved to wait another (and, we hope, a more favourable) opportunity.

In the mean time, the more obstructions we find towards exerting the *synodical* power of the Church, the more reason we have to make *inferior* jurisdictions useful; and to do all that we can, in our several places and stations, to preserve the poor remains of Church-discipline we enjoy in their due life and vigour, since we are not *as yet* likely either to retrieve what is lost, or enforce what is left by new sanctions; a work which deserves the best wishes and assistances of every man who has a regard for the interest of Religion, and for the honour and authority of the Church of England.

As to this particular district which it has fallen to my lot to take care of, I have resolved, by God's blessing, to make it as useful to the purposes for which it is intended, as it is possible for me, at the distance I am from it at present, to do. To that end, I thought it requisite to place the administration of it in a single hand, whose integrity and care I had good reason to confide in, and who, by riding the customary circuits, might be an eye-witness of every thing that happened in them, and suffer no act, which bore the seal and authority of this Court, to be sped, any where throughout the Archdeaconry, but in his presence only. Some abuses I have already redressed by this and other means; and shall, God willing, take care to rectify others as fast as they come to my knowledge, and I can find out due remedies for them. My Brethren of the Archdeaconry have, I thank them, been some of them assistant to me in this matter, by laying such accounts

of things before me as were very instructive and reasonable. I have made, and shall continue to make, a proper use of them; and I hope that they also will still continue the like good offices, till they find (as I dare say they never will find) that such applications are either unwelcome to me, or neglected afterwards by me. For the sincere desire of my heart is, to root up all corrupt practices of all kinds, though they have never so long and generally obtained, which may injure the credit of the jurisdiction, and by that means hinder the use and influence of it.

I shall add only a repetition of that request which I have once already * made to you (not without direction from our Right Reverend and Honoured Diocesan), that the Ministers would assist the several Church-wardens and Sidesmen in their presentments, and join in *signing* them; in which though by the expressions occurring in *some* Canons they may seem to be left at large, yet by what is to be met with elsewhere (particularly in the 113th, 115th, and 118th Canons) I think it very apparent that their assistance in that case may, by the orders of the Church, be always justly expected from them. Sure I am, that without their helping-hand the presentments will be always lame and ineffectual.

I am ordered, by my Lord Bishop, to lay before you a Petition from the Minister and Inhabitants of *Bratton-Fleming*, in relation to the re-building of their Church. You will presently hear the contents of it; and are the best judges what it may be proper for any of you to do on that occasion.

* See p. 214.

X. CHARACTER OF MR. THOMAS BENNET *,
1706.

IT will not be unsuitable to my design, if I close these reflections † with some account of the person deceased, who really lived like one that had his hope in another life; a life which he hath now entered upon, having exchanged hope for sight, desire for enjoyment. I know such accounts are looked upon as a tribute due to the memory of those only who have moved in a high sphere, and have out-shone the rest of the world by their rank, as well as their virtues. However, the characters of men placed in lower stations of life, though less usually insisted upon, are yet more useful, as being imitable by greater numbers, and not so liable to be suspected of flattery or design. Several of this auditory were, perhaps, entire strangers to the person whose death we now lament; and the greatest part of you who were not had, for that reason, so just an

* A bookseller of eminence in St. Paul's Church-yard; who figured in the controversy between Bentley and Boyle.

† This character was the conclusion of the famous Sermon, which was so severely attacked by Hoadly. See vol. I. pp. 395. 397.

* * * Lately printed, in Defence of English Convocations,
1. The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vindicated, in Answer to Dr. Wake and others. By F. Atterbury, D. D. the second edition, enlarged.

2. The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church, asserted against all oppressive Doctrines, &c. in Answer to Dr. Wake and others. By S. Hill, of Kilmington.

3. Remarks upon the Temper of the late Writers about Convocations; particularly Dr. Wake, Dr. Kennet, and the Author of Mr. Atterbury's Principles, &c.

esteem

esteem of him, that it will not be unwelcome to you, I presume, to be put in mind of those good qualities which you observed in him : And therefore I shall, in as few words as I can, comprise what twenty years experience hath enabled me justly to say of him.

He was a serious, sincere Christian ; of an innocent, irreproachable, nay, exemplary life ; which was led, not only at a great distance from any foul vice, but also in the even and uniform practice of many virtues ; such as were suitable to a life of great application and business, such as became and adorned the state and profession to which it pleased God to call him.

He highly valued and heartily loved that Church wherein he was baptized and educated ; of which he gave the best proofs, by being a constant frequenter of its worship, and, in the latter part of his life, a never-failing monthly communicant : I add also, and by adhering steadily to its interest ; two things which ought never to be separated.

Nor was his attendance on divine offices a matter of formality and custom, but of conscience, as appeared by his composed and serious behaviour during the service. It was such as shewed him to be in earnest, and truly affected with what he was doing.

His religion did not spend itself all in public ; the private duties of the closet were equally his care ; with these he began each morning, and to these he repaired as often as he entered upon any business of consequence (I speak knowingly) ; and his family were every evening summoned by him to common devotions ; and in these too his regard for the public service of the Church appeared,

appeared, for they were expressed always in her language.

Indeed he was a very singular instance of all those domestic virtues that relate to the good and discreet government of a family. He had great natural prudence, which experience had much improved; he was of a sweet temper, and a mighty lover of regularity and order; and, by the happy mixture of these good qualities, managed all his affairs (particularly those within doors) with the utmost exactness; and yet with as much quiet and ease to himself and others as was possible.

Those about him grew insensibly active and industrious by his example and encouragement; and he had such a gentle method of reproofing their faults, that they were not so much afraid as ashamed to repeat them. He took the surest way to be obeyed, by being loved and respected; for he was free from any of those rough, ungovernable passions, which hurry men on to say and do very hard and offensive things. He had, indeed, a certain quickness of apprehension, which inclined him a little to kindle into the first motions of anger upon some particular occasions; but this part of his disposition he had so far conquered, that, for a long time before he died, no one who had occasion to receive his orders did, I believe, hear an intemperate or harsh word proceed from him; or see any thing in his behaviour, that betrayed any misbecoming degree of inward concern.

He took care to season the minds of his servants with religious instructions; and, for that end, did himself

often read useful discourses to them on the Lord's-day, of which he was always a very strict and solemn observer. And what they thus learned from him in one way, they did not unlearn again in another; for he was a man, not only sincerely pious, but of the nicest sobriety and temperance, and remarkably punctual and just in all his dealings with others. I see many authentic witnesses of this particular branch of his character.

He abounded in all the truest signs of an affectionate tenderness towards his wife and children; and yet did so prudently moderate and temper his passions of this kind, as that none of them got the better of his reason, or made him wanting in any of the other offices of life, which it behoved or became him to perform; and therefore, though he appeared to relish these blessings as much as any man, yet he bore the loss of them, when it happened, with great composure and evenness of mind.

He did also, in a very just and fitting manner, proportion his respects to all others that were any way related to him, either by blood or affinity; and was very observant of some of them, even where he could not be determined by any views of interest, and had manifestly no other obligations but those of duty and decency to sway him.

In what manner he lived with those who were of his neighbourhood and acquaintance, how obliging his carriage was to them, what kind offices he did, and was always ready to do them, I forbear particularly to say; not that I judge it a slight, but because I take it to be a confessed part of his character, which even his enemies

mies (if there were any such) cannot but allow: for, however in matters where his judgement led him to oppose men on a public account, he would do it vigorously and heartily; yet the oppositions ended there, without souring his private conversation, which was, to use the words of a great Writer, "soft and easy, "as his principles were stubborn."

In a word, whether we consider him as an husband, a parent, a master, relation, or neighbour, his character was, in all these respects, highly fit to be recommended to men; and, I verily think, as complete as any that ever fell under my observation.

And all this religion and virtue sat easily, naturally, and gracefully upon him; without any of that stiffness and constraint, any of those forbidding appearances, which sometimes disparage the actions of men sincerely pious, and hinder real goodness from spreading its interest far and wide into the hearts of beholders.

There was not the least taint of religious (which is indeed the worst sort of) affectation in any thing he said or did; nor any endeavours to recommend himself to others, by appearing to be even what he really was: he was faulty on the other side, being led, by an excess of modesty, to conceal (as much as might be) some of his chief virtues, which therefore were scarce known to any but those who very nearly observed him, though every day of his life almost was a witness to the practice of them.

I need not say how perfect a master he was of all the business of that useful profession wherein he had engaged himself: you know it well; and the great

success his endeavours met with sufficiently proves it. Nor could the event well be otherwise; for his natural abilities were very good, and his industry exceeding great, and the evenness and probity of his temper not inferior to either of them.

Besides, he had one peculiar felicity (which carried in it some resemblance of a great Christian perfection), that he was entirely contented and pleased with his lot; loving his employment for its own sake, as he hath often said, and so as to be willing to spend the rest of his life in it, though he were not, if that could be supposed, to reap any further advantages from it.

Not but that the powers of his mind were equal to much greater tasks; and therefore when, in his later years, he was called up to some public offices and stations, he distinguished himself in all of them by his penetration and dexterity in the dispatch of that business which belonged to them, by a winning behaviour and some degree even of a smooth and popular eloquence which Nature gave him. But his own inclinations were rather to confine himself to his own business, and be serviceable to Religion and Learning in the way to which God's Providence had seemed more particularly to direct him, and in which it had so remarkably blessed him.

When riches flowed in upon him, they made no change in his mind or manner of living. This may be imputed to an eager desire of heaping up wealth; but it was really owing to another principle: he had a great indifference to the pleasures of life, and an aversion to the pomps of it; and therefore his appetites being no
way

way increased by his fortune, he had no occasion to enlarge the scene of his enjoyments.

He was so far from over-valuing any of the appendages of life, that the thoughts even of life itself did not seem to affect him. Of its loss he spake often, in full health, with great unconcern; and, when his late distemper attacked him (which from the beginning he judged fatal), after the first surprize of that sad stroke was over, he submitted to it with great meekness and resignation, as became a good man and a good Christian.

Though he had a long illness, considering the great heat with which it raged, yet his intervals of sense being few and short, left but little room for the offices of devotion; at which he was the less concerned, because, as he himself then said, he had not been wanting in those duties while he had strength to perform them. Indeed, on the Lord's-day which immediately preceded this illness, he had received the Sacrament; and was, therefore, we have reason to believe, *when the Master of the House soon afterwards came*, prepared and ready to receive him.

As the blessings of God upon his honest industry had been great, so he was not without intentions of making suitable returns to Him in acts of mercy and charity. Something of this kind he hath taken care of in his will, drawn up at a time while his family was as numerous as it is now, and his circumstances not so plentiful. One part of the benefactions there directed was worthy of him, being the expression of a generous and grateful mind towards the persons who had most obliged him, and of a pious regard to the place of his educa-

tion. More he would probably have done, had not the disease, of which he died, seized him with that violence, as to render him incapable of executing whatever of this kind his heart might have intended.

He is now gone, and his works have followed him: let us imitate his example, that, when we also depart this life, we may share his heavenly reward, and be as well spoken of by those who survive us!

XI. SPEECH TO THE CLERGY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF TOTNESS, 1708.

REVEREND BRETHREN,

MY present design is, to speak to you concerning that very ancient and useful office of *Dean Rural*; an office which hath formerly contributed much to support and enliven the discipline of the Church, and might be of equal use still, if the powers heretofore annexed to it were duly revived and executed. However, even upon the foot it now stands, especially in this Diocese, it is of great service, when discharged with a conscientious care and fidelity. And therefore pity it is, that either any disorder should happen in the manner of choosing such officers, or any neglect in exerting those powers which do still both by law and custom belong to them; because each of these hath a manifest tendency towards sinking the office yet lower than it is
already

already sunk, and bringing it at last altogether into disrepute and disuse; which it shall be my business to whom it immediately belongs, as I doubt not but it will be the endeavour of our common Superior (with whom God has blessed us), by all proper and effectual methods to prevent.

Permit me, therefore, Brethren, to discourse to you, in such measure as the time will allow of, concerning the name and title; the antiquity, nature, and extent of this office; to say somewhat also of the powers and rights which belonged to it formerly, but have since been lost by misuse: and somewhat also of the present powers with which it is invested, and of the great reason there is to preserve and employ them.

The office is very antient, though not under the present appellation of *Dean Rural*, but that of *Archipresbyter*, of which there were two sorts, the *Urban* and *Rural*. The *Urban Archipresbyter* was originally the same with him whom we now call the *Dean of the Cathedral Church*; the *Rural Archipresbyter* was he whom we now style the *Rural Dean*, who, according to the opinion of Duarenus and Sir Henry Spelman (authorities that we may safely follow), succeeded in the room of the *Chorepiscopi*, upon the abolition of that office in this Western part of Christendom. This sort of officer, if the text of the Canon Law compiled by Gratian might be relied on, was older than the Council of Agatha, celebrated in 506, a Canon of which is there cited, commanding that, at the solemn reconciliation of penitents, *adsint Decani*, that is, *Archipresbyteri Parochiarum*, who were to have the care of examining

into their offences, and prescribing penances. But nothing of this kind is to be found in any of the Canons of that Council now remaining. *Gratian* transcribed this mistake from *Burchard*, who went before him in the same attempt: and *Burchard* flourishing but about seven hundred years ago, it cannot be judged how much antienter than him the *Archipresbyters* mentioned in this Canon were.

The first clear account we have of these officers (as distinguished from the Urban Archipresbyters, or Cathedral Deans, in the tomes of the Councils) is, I think, A. D. 850, when they were established by a Canon of the Council of Pavia in Italy: the words of which are these:

“ Propter assiduam erga populum Dei curam singulis
 “ plebibus Archipresbyteros præesse volumus, qui non
 “ solum imperiti vulgi sollicitudinem gerant, verum etiam
 “ eorum Presbyterorum qui per minores titulos habitant
 “ vitam jugi circumspeditione custodiant, et quâ unus-
 “ quisque industriâ divinum opus exerceat Episcopo suo
 “ renuntiet,” &c.

This Canon was recited afterwards *in terminis*, and confirmed by a Council at Rome in the year 904. So far is it from truth, what a late Author*, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, hath affirmed, that this institution was peculiar to *Germany, Gaul, Great Britain*, and the *Northern Parts of Europe*; but altogether unknown to *Italy*, till the time of Cardinal *Borromeo*. The ground of that error was, a false notion entertained by him, that the *Dean Rural* in the Church answered to the

* Dr. Kennet.

Tything Man in the State, and had the same *extent of jurisdiction* (so he speaks); which led him to imagine, that that portion of a Bishoprick which we call a *Rural Deanry* was to be found in no countries but where the like civil distribution into *tithings* prevailed. I need oppose nothing to this opinion beyond the authority of Sir H. Spelman in that part of his Glossary which he himself printed; where he tells us, that the *Rural Deanry* answered (not to the secular tithing, but rather and more nearly) to the county hundred.

“Decanatus dicitur de portione episcopatus, centuriæ seu hundredo comitatus respondenti, et decano olim suppositâ.” Glossar. in voce *Decanatus*, p. 16.

That there were *Rural Deans* here in the Saxon times I doubt not, though the histories and ecclesiastical monuments of those ages, now preserved, are silent concerning them. The only instance of this kind produced (p. 633.) by the Writer just now mentioned is no sure proof of it, being taken from that part of Edward the Confessor's Laws which is not looked upon as genuine, but thought to be added to them by Henry I. who restored and enforced them.

Not long after the reign of Henry I. these officers are mentioned in the great Lateran Council, held A. D. 1179, under the title of *Decani constituti sub Archidiaconis*; and rules are prescribed for lessening the expences that attend their visitations. From that time our English Ecclesiastical Laws take frequent notice of them. The true reasons of the first rise and institution of this office were, the great extent of Diocese and Archdeaconries, and the necessity which Bishops were
under

under of attending, not only at Ecclesiastical Synods, but all Great Councils of State; and the share they had (especially after the time of Charles the Great) in the management of public offices and affairs. This occasioned a delegation of all their jurisdiction to some officers, and of some parts of it to others erected for this purpose; from whom they preserved a right of Appeal. As to the particular erection of *Deans Rural*, I cannot better account for it than in the excellent words of Roverius, a French author of note:

“Cum ad Presbyteros rure degentes extendere se
 “continuò non posset Episcoporum aut Archidiaconorum
 “vigilantia, collocati fuere per intervalla in quibusdam
 “quasi excubiis Presbyterorum aliqui, Decani vel
 “Archipresbyteri vocitati, ut cæterorum Presbyterorum
 “et Plebis moribus, vice Episcopi aut Archidiaconi,
 “invigilarent.”

What Roverius says of their officiating in France “vice Episcopi aut Archidiaconi,” is confirmed as to England, by *Lynwood*, in various parts of his Provincial. In one place he calls them “Vicarii Episcoporum quam Archidiaconorum.” In a second, he says that they are “Decani Temporales ad aliquod ministerium sub Episcopo vel Archidiacono exercendum constituti.” In a third, he thus describes them: “Sunt personæ habentes quædam officia communiter spectantia ad Episcopum vel Archidiaconum: et ideo communiter eorum receptio et amotio pertinet ad utrumque.” And there is a remarkable passage in his comment, where he enquires, whether the Deans of the Archbishop’s *Peculiars* (as Shoreham, Croydon, &c.) can by custom have

have cognizance of *matrimonial causes*. To which he answers, they may; and gives this reason for it, because those Deans have Archidiaconal Jurisdiction, being subject to the Archbishop alone, who deutes them, "cum tamen cæteri Decani Rurales etiam (ut communiter) subsint Archidiaconis." And to the same purpose speaks Atho's Glossary on the Legatine Constitutions of Otho. "Tam præfici debent Decani Rurales quam etiam amoveri per Episcopum et Archidiaconum simul de jure;" he adds indeed "salvâ consuetudine locorum," because, in some places, the mandate for the choice of *Deans Rural* doth, by the Bishop's grant, proceed from the Archdeacon alone, as in the diocese of Canterbury. In others from the Bishop and Archdeacon jointly; that is, from the Bishop through the Archdeacon, as in this diocese. And from all these authorities that skilful and accurate Civilian Dr. Cowell collected this definition of a Dean Rural, which he gives in his "Interpreter," and is transcribed by Godolphin into his "Repertorium."

"A person having ecclesiastical jurisdiction over other ministers and parishes near adjoining, assigned unto him by the Bishop and Archdeacon, being placed and displaced by them." He means, by their authority, but at the instance, nomination, and election, of the Clergy. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that a Canon in 1571 (the only Canon of our Church which, since the Reformation, mentions *Deans Rural*) joins the Archdeacon with the Bishop in the steps that are to be taken towards chusing them. I forbear to recite the words

words here, because I foresee I shall have occasion to use them towards the close of this paper.

How and when the Archdeacon came into a fixed share of authority in this matter, appears from a rescript of Innocent III. in the year 1214, inserted into the body of the Canon Law. "Archipresbyteri," says he, "qui a pluribus Decani nuncupantur, Archidiaconi jurisdictioni se noverint subicere." And in answer to an enquiry then made of him, "Utrum Decani Rurales qui pro tempore statuuntur ad mandatum Episcopi soli vel Archidiaconi, vel etiam utriusque institui debeant vel destitui, si fuerint amovendi:" His determination there is, "Ad hoc breviter respondemus, quod cum ab omnibus quod omnes tangit approbari debeat, et cum eorum," that is of the Bishop and Archdeacon, "Decanus officium exerceat, communiter est etiam eligendus vel deponendus." Ever since this rescript, the Archdeacon's authority hath intervened, together with that of the Bishop, towards appointing *Deans Rural*, except where by grant, composition, or custom immemorial, things have been otherwise ordered; as the case is in the diocese of Canterbury, where, thirteen years after the date of this rescript, Stephen Langton, the Archbishop, granted to his Archdeacon the institution and destitution of *Deans Rural*; and for this remarkable reason:

"Cum absurdum sit ut alius eos constituat quam is, qui eis debeat præesse, et cui respondere tenentur; præsertim cum ipsis [Decanis nempe] referentibus, corrigere debent [Archidiaconi] cæterorum errata."

This

This grant was two years afterwards confirmed by Archbishop Wetherhead; but with the addition of the clause, "præhabito consilio nostro." Both the instruments are printed at large by the industrious and judicious Mr. Somner.

The office of *Dean Rural*, at and before this time, was to inspect the manners both of Clergy and Laity within his district, but chiefly of the former; and if any of these laboured under any evil fame, to call them before him; and to correct lesser excesses as *in foro pœnitentia* for the most part, rather than *judicially*; the Rural Deans being the *Confessores nati* of the Clergy under them, till the monks, about King John's time, began to wrest the authority out of their hands.

His power over the Clergy is by our *Otho* said to be "Jurisdictio Cognitionalis, quoad effectum corrigendi, licet non quoad effectum removendi tales a Villicatione, et suspendendo eos ab officio." And in this Lynwood agrees with him, allowing that the *Dean Rural* might inflict some of the lesser censures for slight offences: but greater matters he was to refer to the superior ordinary, at the next Synod, or convention of the Clergy; for which reason also he looks upon him to have been called by the Canonists *Testis Synodalis*.

From the cognizance of greater, and particularly of *matrimonial causes*, he was entirely excluded by a Constitution of *Otho*, both because he was not always supposed duly qualified for a discussion of them, by his skill in Canon Law; and because also, as I apprehend, his office was often likely to determine ere such intricate causes, where many witnesses were to be examined, could

could be ripened to a sentence. Nor could he ever *prescribe* to a custom of hearing such causes, because, as Lynwood well observes, by reason of a *temporary office*, no prescription lies. On this account, as well as others, the office must needs afterwards have declined apace, because a *disuser* would bar them of any branch of their authority, and no custom whatsoever could either give them what they had not, or restore to them what they had lost.

It was likewise the *Dean Rural's* business to instruct the younger Clergy in the way of administering and ordering sacraments and sacramentals, according to the Canons and Customs of the Church, to appoint preachers for solemn occasions, to take care of the sequestration of vacant livings, and to provide for the supplies of the cure. He took order for, and certified the execution of, processes and decrees out of the superior Court Christian [and had perhaps on this account the title of *Decanus Christianitatis* bestowed on him].

Through his hands went the mandates for *Induction*, and those for the choice of Convocation-clerks, which are still also transmitted by him. For this purpose he had his *Apparitors* and other under-officers, and an authentic seal, on which the name of *his office* was engraved, but not his *own*; that being allowed only to those *ecclesiastical judges* who were *perpetual*; whereas the office of Rural Dean was *temporary*, and of no longer continuance, even in Lynwood's time, than it is now. "Quolibet anno," says he, "mutantur Decani, et fiunt novi." This was now settled; but 200 years before, in *Otbo's* time, it appears that they were very

unwilling to resign their office with their seals, at the expiration of the year; and therefore a particular constitution was made by that Legate to compel them to it. I wish the case were not much altered, when that office is accepted by some as unwillingly, as it was then parted with.

The Incumbents of the Deanry were his *Chapter*, which he summoned, as he saw cause, upon special emergencies; but had also stated times of convening them: for some of them were held once in three weeks or a month; others once a quarter, which last were called "*Principalia Capitula propter majorem confluentiam Cleri, et quia in hiis de negotiis arduoribus tractari consuevit.*"

In these Quarterly Chapters (wherein first the Rural Deans only, but afterwards the Archdeacons or their Officials, often presided) deliberation was held of such matters as were thought proper to be laid before the Bishop; and the Parochial Clergy advised together about all affairs in which they were particularly concerned, and took common measures and resolutions upon them; a most excellent and wise institution, fitted to keep up order and uniformity, and to cultivate a good correspondence among the neighbouring Clergy; to arm them against common dangers and difficulties, and enable them every where to promote the interest of religion and virtue, and the good of souls committed to their charge.

And therefore a Right Honourable and Right Reverend Prelate, who adorned the pastoral character as much as any Bishop of his time, hath, in his *Conferences* with

with the Clergy of the several Deanries in his diocese, revived the image of these Rural Chapters, and pursued the ends of them.

The use of these Rural Chapters was little known out of England; for which reason Lynwood forbears to say much of them: "*Quia magis nituntur consuetudini patriæ quam juri communi, de iis ulterius scribere omitto;*" though for that very reason one would have wished that he had been more particular in his account of them.

The Editor of the Parochial Antiquities applies this passage of Lynwood to the Rural Deans themselves, and not to their Chapters, to which however it solely belongs.

And now, my Reverend Brethren, having taken as distinct a view as the time would permit of those powers which formerly belonged to Deans Rural, and of the great usefulness of such officers, especially in conjunction with their Chapters, give me leave, in the first place, to bemoan the decay of this part of ecclesiastical discipline; and from my heart to wish the revival of it; and then, till that shall happen, in the next place to beseech and exhort you to do what in you lies, towards preserving the poor remains of those powers which are still left, and rendering them useful to the purposes for which they were intended.

In matters of public government, the business of private persons is, I confess, to make the best use they can of the present state of things, without endeavouring to disturb it by new models and schemes which they think may be of more service. But when a main branch
of

of our antient Ecclesiastical Constitution hath been dropped by a gradual disuse, no man's modesty needs restrain him from interposing towards a revival of it. And that is the case of Rural Deans and Chapters; which is no new-fangled device, but an institution (as you have heard) of venerable age, by long experience approved, and practised with greater influence and success in this than in any other part of Christendom. We are sure, therefore, that is well adapted to our Constitution, and would be so far from interfering, that it would fall-in with the other parts of it, and even contribute to support and strengthen them; and enable those who in an higher sphere hold the reins of Ecclesiastical discipline (too long and too much slackened) to guide them to better advantages than they do, or can do at present. This, I am sure, was the opinion of those who, after the Reformation of the Doctrine, were employed to draw up what was necessary towards completing the Discipline of the Church; and to that end compiled the "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*," wherein the chapter of *Deans Rural* (which I recommend to your perusal) contains a very full and particular account of their office, as it was then intended to be restored.

When this project proved abortive (for what reason they may easily guess, who consider how ready some men have all along been to blame the defects of our Church-discipline, and how unwilling at the same time to supply them with proper provisions, lest they should want occasions of complaining); I say, when this scheme, in which the *Civil Power* was chiefly concerned, took no effect, the *Ecclesiastical Power* did *what* it could to set

thing might by authority of Convocation. And among the Canons framed for this purpose, one in 1571 shews how sensible the then Bishops and Clergy were of the usefulness and importance of the Dean Rural's office, about which they thus determined:

“ Peractâ visitatione, Archidiaconus significabit Episcopo quos invenerit in quoque Decanatu eâ doctrinâ et judicio præditos, ut digni sint qui pro concione doceant populum, et præsent aliis. Ex iis Episcopus potest delectum facere, quos volet esse Decanos Rurales.”

Here is no account given of the several powers and duties belonging to this Ecclesiastical Officer; two particulars only are mentioned, that he should be well qualified to *preach* and to *govern*. But good *Preachers* then in the infancy of our Reformation (when many illiterate men were of necessity to be ordained) being not to be found in every Deanry, the character and power of this Officer lessened every day; so that the Convocation of 1603 (which fixed that body of Canons whereby our Church is now governed) appears not to have entered into any measures towards restoring it.

It hath been endeavoured indeed to promote the same end by *other means*, with which our Constitution is wholly unacquainted, namely, by a voluntary erection of Societies for the Reformation of Manners. Far be it from me to condemn the zeal of those persons who with good intentions entered on that desirable work, however unqualified they might be for it. But, when we consider who have encouraged it most, and been most employed in it, we may be allowed to suspect, that one end which some men have had in carrying it on was, to take the in-

spection of Manners out of their hands to whom it most properly belongs; and by that means to render *the Function* as useless as they could, in order to its becoming contemptible.

This indeed, together with many other steps taken to the same purpose, not necessary here to be repeated, gives us no very comfortable prospect of procuring any enlargement of the powers we already possess in matters appertaining to Religion and Virtue, or of retrieving any of those we have lost. However, some favourable juncture may arise, when our Superiors in Church and State shall lay these matters to heart, and think them worthy of their most serious and wise consideration. And sure I am, that, if ever a re-establishment of Church-discipline in its vigour be sincerely intended, one, and a chief, method of promoting it must be by a restoration of *Rural Deans and Chapters* to the full extent of their antient powers.

Let us join in common wishes for this; and not forget, in the mean time, to exert the powers of which we are indubitably possessed. The office of Dean Rural is still a great trust, as it carries with it the care of the Church fabrick and utensils, of preventing dilapidations, and of inspecting the manners of the Clergy. These particulars are expressly included in his present oath, the conscientious observance of which is a matter of great consequence; and therefore the *choice* of such persons as are to discharge these duties ought not to be neglected or eluded.

And when they are chosen, it were to be wished that they would, as soon afterwards as conveniently they can

set about the work, without deferring it, as they too often do, to the very time of the expiration of their office; when they have neither leisure nor inclination to make due enquiries, or at least due presentments upon them; but satisfy themselves with the promises of the respective persons, incumbents, to set things right, without having time left sufficient to *oblige* them to perform those promises; which are made again, perhaps, to the next Dean Rural, towards the close of his office also, with as little effect as they were to the former; and thus dilapidations and the decays of Churches increase without end and without remedy.

The Canon of 1571 does, as we have heard, mention *Preaching*, as one part of the Dean Rural's business. I will not say that it certainly meant the *Visitation Sermons*. However, though this be not provided for *specially* by Canon, yet the power of the Ordinary, confirmed by custom, hath made it *binding*. And I hope it will be looked upon by those of my Brethren, who have a right sense of this matter, rather as an honour than a burthen.

I am sensible I have detained you long; and yet there is somewhat still behind, relating to this argument. But I shall reserve it to be proposed and considered when we meet together in private.

XII. REFLECTIONS ON A LATE SCANDALOUS
REPORT ABOUT THE REPEAL OF THE
TEST ACT *; 1708.

THE peculiar character of the men of this age is, that they readily believe every thing but truth; and as great Infidels as they are in matters of Religion, yet in Politics, whatever idle report is stirring, they give into it with an amazing degree of credulity. How else could it happen that so many should in good earnest be alarmed with the late rumour we have had of a design to *repeal the Test*; a fiction every way ridiculous and childish, fit only to frighten such as believe in *Fairies*! There are those indeed who know how to make their advantages of a state-lye, if they can pass it upon the world for an hour: but it was impudence in the forger of this to imagine that it could last a moment. For, set this odd project in what light, and view it on what side you please, the absurdities of it are so evident and glaring, that one would think the weakest eye could not miss discovering them.

Every one knows the original of the Test Act; how just the fears were that occasioned it, and how well it was calculated every way to remove them. The dangers which then threatened our Constitution were of two sorts; and the wisdom of the Legislature took care equally to guard against both of them. That part of this act,

* I believe this was never published, till in the first edition of this work it was printed from the Bishop's own handwriting.

which makes the renouncing the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist a necessary qualification for an office, would have excluded the Papists as effectually as any additional test whatsoever : and therefore the other part of it, which enjoins receiving the sacrament, must have been aimed chiefly at the Dissenters. And if, in that respect, it were then thought necessary, with what face can any one pretend that it is unnecessary now ? We did not look upon ourselves as secure without a sacramental test, even at a time when a toleration was not as yet granted by law ; and he must have an extraordinary turn of head, who at this time of day can imagine that there is less reason for continuing, than there was at first for imposing it. Since the birth of the Test, have we, by any new fences, been sheltered against the attacks of Dissenters ? or are they grown less formidable by the favours of more than one reign, and twenty years legal indulgence ? Have they lost their old relish of power, by the late allowances they have had to taste of it ? or have they given us any reason to think, they would use it better than their moderate predecessors did in the times of anarchy and confusion ; when they were not content to exclude Church-of-England-men from civil offices, but made it penal for them even to teach a child, or say grace in a private family ? We have an instructive instance, in a neighbouring nation, how the spirit of Fanaticism works when dominant ; and they who will not be convinced by it, neither would they be persuaded, though Bradshaw and Ireton, Venning and Marshal, should rise from the dead, and once again exercise their dominion over us.

The Church of England hath ever justly been esteemed the great bulwark of the Reformation; and I am sure, the Test Act may as justly be reckoned the chief bulwark of the Church; for by the means of it that power which alone can protect or destroy her has been kept in the hands of her friends, or of those at least who desired to be thought such, and could not therefore openly do any thing disagreeable to that character. But whenever those who are not of her communion are let into a share of this power, it is as easy to foretell, as it will be impossible to prevent, the sad consequences of it. We must be allowed at that juncture to say (what every one will see) that she is *in extreme danger*; and that no state-physician, be his skill ever so great, or his intentions ever so good, will then be able to save her. She has perhaps the least influence of any Church upon earth, by virtue of that discipline and authority which she is permitted to exercise; and no method hath been left unattempted to make her lose the hold she had in the affections and reverence of the people. That which supports her under these disadvantages is, the *incapacity* that lies on her enemies as to *places and power*. Let this incapacity be ever removed, she is from that moment at mercy, and can subsist on y (as the Primitive Church was planted) by miracle.

It being evident that these are the consequences of repealing the Test Act, and as evident that it can be repealed only by those who profess themselves of the Church of England; one would wonder how it was possible to raise a jealousy that in our present circumstances it would ever be attempted. For who is there

likely to make or abet such a proposal in public? The Scotch Members are pointed at, as the men who are to introduce it under the notion of *improving the Union*; as if the proper way of improving the Union were, to take the first opportunity of breaking in upon the terms of it! one of which is, that (not only the “ Statute of “ Uniformity,” and the 13th of Eliz. which are expressly mentioned, but) “ all and singular acts of Parliament now in force, for the establishment and preservation of the Church of England, shall remain “ and be in full force for ever.” And if the Test and Corporation Acts (which must stand and fall together) be not in the number of these, I despair of finding any such in the Statute-book. Sure we are, the great influence of these acts was so well understood in a late reign, that her enemies, how widely soever differing in other opinions, yet agreed in this, that a repeal of them would be the surest and readiest way towards her ruin. The Church itself thought so too; and therefore struggled for them as for life, and even ventured a Revolution to secure them.

The Scotch Members are sensible that several Laws *anent the security of their Kirk* are perpetuated by like general words in the Act of Union; and will be wary therefore how they weaken our security, which stands upon the same bottom with theirs, lest the precedent, set here should be followed elsewhere, and a way opened by the means of it to subvert their present Ecclesiastical Constitution. Beside, such a proposal for setting Dissenters upon an equal foot of privilege with the members of the Established Church, would come with a very ill
grace

grace from them that deny even to *tolerate* those of the Episcopal persuasion amongst them. An authentic evidence of their principles in this point is, the Representation which the Commission of their General Assembly made to the Scotch Parliament, a little before the Union, wherein “ they are bold in the Lord, and in the name “ of the Church of God in their land, earnestly to attest “ his Grace [the High Commissioner] and the most honourable Estates, that no motion of any legal toleration to those of Prelatical principles may be entertained by the Parliament; being persuaded that, in the “ present case and circumstances of that Church and “ nation, to enact a toleration for those of that way “ (which God of his infinite mercy avert!) would be “ to establish iniquity by a law, and would bring upon “ the promoters thereof, and upon their families, the “ dreadful guilt of all those sins, and pernicious effects “ both in Church and State, that might ensue thereupon.” Thus they then protested; and to do them right, however they may have been misrepresented, their practice ever since hath been exactly conformable to their opinion.

Well then, no proper advocate for this repeal is to be found among the Scotch Members of Parliament, and much less surely among the English, who are all sons of that Church which would be struck-at by such an attempt, and can no more be out-witted, than out-voted, in a case where their interest is so evidently concerned. Many of them are of tried virtue, and did with a memorable firmness oppose this design, even when the Crown with all its weight came in to promote it.

it. And there are none of them but will acknowledge that our present safety and happiness are owing to the honourable stand which was then made. We need not doubt therefore but that, if occasion were given them, they would be as ready to imitate that conduct as they are to applaud it.

The House of Commons have already expressed their opinion, that the Test Act is a fundamental part of the Union, by declaring upon their Journal, that "it is effectually and essentially provided for" by the Act of Security; and the Lords were of the same mind, when they gave the same reason in their debates why an express mention of it was needless.

It is impossible to conceive that the Bishops should not unanimously withstand such a project; and we may be sure they have interest enough to prevent the bringing in any bill, which touches the Church so nearly, against their concurring opinion. Indeed, if Parker and Cartwright* were alive, they would be fit tools to work with on this occasion: but I know of no one English Prelate now upon the bench that can come within the reach of such a suspicion. My Lord of Sarum† has distinguished himself by his zeal for preserving the Test Act, and given such strong reasons for it from The Hague as can never be answered here in England; and we may be satisfied, from his character, that his Lordship will always be found consistent with himself, and

* Parker bishop of Oxford, and Cartwright bishop of Chester, both preferred in 1686 by King James II. See their characters in Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. II. p. 398. 8vo. edit.

† Bishop Burnet.

persevere to the death in that opinion. Besides, such an infringement of the Union here would, as I have shewed, be attended with some danger to the constitution and discipline of the Scotch Kirk, for which his Lordship must be allowed, on the account both of his birth and comprehensive charity, to have a particular tenderness.

From what party or set of men amongst us can such a proposal as this probably come? The body of those we call *Whigs* have imbibed Revolution principles so deeply, and remember them so well, as not to be willingly dipped in a design of doing that very thing which the Revolution was intended to prevent. They cannot forget that one chief motive of the Prince's coming over, expressed in his declaration from The Hague, was, to quash that "wicked design" (I speak his Highness's words) "of repealing the Test." The attempt will not be thought less wicked, or more seasonable now, if we consider either our domestic or foreign circumstances: nor can that party be so sure of their present power and numbers, as to be willing to hazard all their credit and interest upon so dangerous an experiment.

The Pretender's friends (who are also for Revolution principles in their way) cannot hope to advance his interest by laying so open and barefaced a scheme for the introduction of Popery; which, if ever it takes place here, must come in upon us by stealth, and not by act of Parliament. Nor will the continuance of that part of the act which affects the Papists remove this objection: for the taking away one branch of our security

security evidently weakens the whole; and the repealing acts by piecemeal is a trick so often tried, that every body is aware of it. Besides, this sort of men is too inconsiderable for numbers and interest to enter on such a project, unless joined by others of greater power and popularity. And, were it possible to conceive that there should be any understanding between the Pretender and some of his pretended enemies, yet, we may be sure, they would be very shy of owning it, or of doing any thing that might open the secret of such a correspondence.

The favourers of Dissenters never espoused them on any other foot than that of an allowance to worship God in their own way; which they now amply enjoy, and are under no apprehensions of losing. To plead for any thing farther in their behalf would be to take off the mask, and to discover to us, that though *Liberty of Conscience* was their pretence, yet their true meaning was, *Power and Places*.

They who stood up for Occasional Conformity argued for it upon this principle, that it would by degrees win men over to the Church, and extinguish the schism. And, to say truth, it has had some success that way; and will have more, if we let it continue. But if the Test be taken off, there is an end of Occasional Conformity, and of all its boasted advantages. Separatists will no longer make approaches to the Church, when, by serving God in their own way, they do not find that they are a jot less capable of serving themselves: and therefore, since Occasional Conformity has so necessary a connexion with the Test, they
who

who are professed friends to the one cannot possibly be enemies to the other.

Dutch counsels have sometimes had their influence on our affairs, and we have been warmly pressed to adjust things here at home to the model of Holland. But there is no room for such advice at present : for *our* case is already much the same with *theirs*. They too have their Tests, by which the government of the State is secured in the hands of those who are of the Established Religion ; nor do they think that the tolerated sects have a right to be admitted into so much power as will enable them to subvert the Constitution. When the Dutch give up their Tests, I dare engage, we shall be ready to part with ours : but, till this is done, no argument drawn from the practice of that wise people can prove any thing, but that we are fools if we surrender.

There is but one sort of men more that can be thought capable of interesting themselves in this affair ; persons of sincere piety, who are offended at the frequent prophanations of the sacrament, occasioned by this act. But such will consider, that the discipline of the universal Church lies open to the very same objection ; since set-times every year are, we know, prescribed by the Canons, when all adult Christians are to receive the sacrament, under the penalty of Ecclesiastical censures. And though many, by this means, have been induced to receive unworthily, yet the Church never thought itself answerable for their ill-conduct, or obliged to withdraw her injunctions for the avoiding of scandal. Good men will see the force of this reasoning, and forbear to take offence. But their number is not great ;

great; the opposers of the Test-Act have generally nothing less at heart than to prevent such prophanations. I am sure the way to prevent them is not what some have proposed, to make it a sufficient qualification for an office if the sacrament be received in any place of religious worship: for this proposal would only extend those prophanations to Conventicles as well as Churches, and by that means rather propagate than diminish the scandal.

The result of these inquiries is, that since, wherever we cast our eyes, within the Church or without it, at home or abroad, no undertaker can be found likely to engage in such a work, there is no ground to suspect it was ever intended. Malice might raise the report, and Folly might spread it: but it is too gross to impose upon any but those who are weak enough to be alarmed with the news of a *second invasion* *.

* This refers to an invasion projected about 1708.

XIII. SPEECH OF DR. SACHEVERELL, ON
HIS IMPEACHMENT BEFORE THE HOUSE
OF LORDS IN WESTMINSTER-HALL,
March 7, 1709-10.

* * * This Speech (universally ascribed to Dr. Atterbury when originally published) was thus prefaced :

“ To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament
“ assembled.

“ May it please your Lordships,

“ IT hath been my hard fortune to be misunderstood, at
“ a time when I endeavoured to explain myself with the
“ utmost plainness ; even the defence I made at your Lord-
“ ships’ Bar, in hopes of clearing the innocence of my heart,
“ hath been grievously misrepresented : for which reason, I
“ have humbly presumed to offer it in this manner to your
“ Lordships’ perusal. My Lords, these are the very words I
“ spoke to your Lordships. I hope they are so plain, and
“ express, as not to be capable of any misconstruction : and
“ may I so find mercy at the hands of God, as they are in
“ every respect entirely agreeable to my thoughts and prin-
“ ciples ! I am, my Lords,

“ Your Lordships’ most obedient and most dutiful servant,
“ HENRY SACHEVERELL.”

M Y L O R D S,

THE defence made by my Counsel has been so
full and particular, and the Trial itself drawn out
into so great a length, that I should not add to your
Lordships’ trouble by saying any thing for myself, did I
not think that in such a cause as this (wherein the doc-
trine

trine of our Church, the dignity of that holy order to which I belong, and even the common interest of Christianity itself, are so nearly concerned) it becomes me not to be altogether silent.

For, my Lords, it has been owned by some of the Managers for the honourable House of Commons, that though I am the person impeached, yet my condemnation is not the thing principally aimed at. I am, it seems, "an insignificant tool of a party*, not worth
"regarding;"

* The history of this man affords a very striking example of the folly and madness of party, which could exalt an obscure individual, possessed of but moderate talents, to an height of popularity that the present times behold with wonder and astonishment. He was the son of Joshua Sacheverell of Marlborough, clerk (who died rector of St. Peter's in Marlborough, leaving a numerous family). Henry was put to school at Marlborough, at the charge of Mr. Edward Hearst, an apothecary, who, being his godfather, adopted him as his son. Hearst's widow sent him afterwards to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he became a demy in 1687, at the age of fifteen; and soon distinguished himself, by a regular observation of the duties of the house, by his compositions, good-manners, and genteel behaviour; qualifications which recommended him to that society, of which he was chosen fellow, and, as public tutor, had the care of the education of most of the young gentlemen of quality and fortune that were admitted of the college. In this station he had the tuition of a great many persons eminent for their learning and abilities; and amongst others of Mr. Holdsworth, whose "Muscipula" and "Dissertations on Virgil" have been so deservedly esteemed. He was contemporary and chamber-fellow with Mr. Addison, and one of his chief intimates till the time of his trial. Mr. Addison's "Account of the "greatest English Poets," dated April 4, 1694, in a Farewell-poem to the Muses on his intending to enter into holy orders, was inscribed "to Mr. Henry Sacheverell," his then dearest friend and colleague. Much has been said by Sacheverell's enemies of his ingratitude to his relations, and of his
turbulent

"regarding;" the avowed design of my impeachment is, by the means of it, to procure "an eternal and indelible brand of infamy to be fixed, in a parliamentary way, on all those who maintain the doctrine of Non-resistance, and to have the Clergy directed what doctrines they are to preach, and what not." And therefore, as insignificant as I am in myself, yet the consequences of my Trial (if rightly represented to your Lordships by some of those gentlemen) are of the highest moment and importance.

Since

turbulent behaviour at Oxford; but these appear to have been groundless calumnies, circulated only by the spirit of party. In his younger years he wrote some excellent Latin poems: besides several in the second and third volumes of the "*Musæ Anglicanæ*," ascribed to his pupils, there is a good one of some length in the second volume, under his own name (transcribed from the Oxford Collection, on Queen Mary's death, 1695). He took the degree of M. A. May 16, 1696; B. D. Feb. 4, 1707; D. D. July 1, 1708. His first preferment was Cannock, or Cank, in the county of Stafford. He was appointed one of the chaplains of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1705; and while in this station preached his famous Sermons (at Derby, Aug. 14, 1709; and at St. Paul's, Nov. 9, in the same year); and in one of them was supposed to point at Lord Godolphin, under the name of Volpone. It has been suggested, that to this circumstance, as much as to the doctrines contained in his Sermons, he was indebted for his prosecution, and eventually for his preferment. Being impeached by the House of Commons, his trial began Feb. 27, 1709-10; and continued until the 23d of March: when he was sentenced to a suspension from preaching for three years, and his two Sermons ordered to be burnt. This ridiculous prosecution overthrew the Ministry, and laid the foundation of his fortune. To Sir Simon Harcourt, who was counsel for him, he presented a silver basin gilt, thus elegantly inscribed (by the pen very probably of his friend Atterbury):

VOL. IV.

S

"Viro,

Since I am the unfortunate occasion of bringing these matters in judgement before your Lordships, it will behove me, I think, after what has been pleaded in my behalf by my Counsel learned in the law, to say somewhat also for myself, in order to clear the innocence of my intentions, and remove that load of guilt and infamy which may be laid upon me, should your Lordships determine (as I trust in God you will not) that the articles of impeachment exhibited have been made good against me.

With

“ Viro Honoratissimo,
 Universi Juris Oraculo,
 Ecclesiæ et Regni Præsidio et Ornamento,
 SIMONI HARCOURT, Equiti Aurato,
 Magnæ Britanniaë Sigilli Magni Custodi,
 Et Serenissimæ Reginaë c Secretioribus Consiliis;
 Ob causam meam, coram Supremo Senatu,
 In Aula Westmonasteriensi,
 Nervosa cum facundia
 et subacta Legum scientia,
 Benigne et constantè defensam;
 Ob priscam Ecclesiæ doctrinam;
 Inviolandam Legum vim,
 Piam Subditorum fidem,
 Et sacrosancta Legum jura,
 Contra nefarios Perduellium impetus
 Feliciter vindicata;
 Votivum hoc Munusculum
 Gratitude ergo
 D.D. D.

HENRICUS SACHEVERELL, S. T. P.
 Anno Salutis MDCCX.”

Dr. Sacheverell, during the time of his suspension, made a kind of triumphal progress through divers parts of the kingdom; during which period he was presented to a living near Shrewsbury: and in the same month that his suspension ended, had the valuable rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn, given him by the Queen, April 13, 1713. At this time his reputation was so high, that he was enabled to sell the first

Sermon

With your Lordships' permission then, I shall lay before you some few general remarks, which, in my humble opinion, may be added to what my Counsel have already observed, concerning the methods taken by the Managers for the honourable House of Commons, to prove and support the articles of their charge: and shall then, with your Lordships' leave, say somewhat severally to the articles themselves, which may serve to remind your Lordships of what my Counsel before offered more at large, and with greater advantage.

Sermon preached after his sentence expired (on Palm Sunday) for the sum of 100*l.*; and upwards of 40,000 copies, it is said, were soon sold. We find by Swift's Journal to Stella, Jan. 22, 1711-12, that he had also interest enough with the Ministry to provide very amply for one of his brothers; yet, as Swift had said before, Aug. 24, 1711, "they hated, and affected to despise him." A considerable estate at Callow in Derbyshire was soon after left to him by his kinsman George Sacheverell, esq. whose widow the Doctor married in 1716. In that year he prefixed a dedication to "Fifteen Discourses, occasionally delivered before the University of Oxford, by W. Adams, M. A. late student of Christ Church, and rector of Staunton upon Wye, in Oxfordshire." After this publication we hear little of him, except by quarrels with his parishioners. In 1723 he wrote an admirable epitaph on his friend Collins, which is preserved in the poetical part of this Collection. He died June 5, 1724; and, by his will, bequeathed to Bp. Atterbury, then in exile, the sum of 500*l.*—The Dutchess of Marlborough describes Sacheverell as an ignorant, impudent incendiary; a man who was the scorn even of those who made use of him as a tool." Account, &c. p. 247.—And Ep. Burnet says, "He was a bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning or good sense; but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment, by the most petulant railings at Dissenters and Low-church men. in several sermons and libels, wrote without either chasteness of style, or liveliness of expression." History, vol. III. p. 277.

My Lords, the charge brought against me in these articles is of a very high and heinous nature; and, had it been as clearly made out as it has been strongly affirmed, it would justly have exposed me to a very severe sentence. But the more heinous the charge is, the more evident and undeniable, I should think, the proof ought to be. And how, my Lords, has this charge been supported in the several articles of it? by plain, direct, and express passages produced and read to your Lordships, out of my Sermons; or by intendments, unnecessary implications, and strained constructions? by laying entire sentences before your Lordships, and relying upon what was manifestly contained in them; or by piecing broken sentences, and conjoining distant and independent passages, in order to make me speak what I never thought of?

I am unacquainted, my Lords, with the methods of legal proof, and little thought I should have had this occasion of enquiring into them. But, as far as I am able to comprehend any thing of this nature, I should think that there cannot be a clearer indication that I am not guilty of having asserted what I am charged by the several articles to have said, than that so many hours learning and eloquence have been employed in proving me to have said it. Had I really affirmed those propositions for which I am accused, my Sermons being before your Lordships, the places wherein such propositions were directly contained might have been referred to, and read, with the same ease as my Counsel referred to the passages contained in the several writings and sermons of the reverend Fathers and other eminent Divines

vines of our Church, wherein they taught the doctrine of Non-resistance in the same extent as I maintained it, or in terms much stronger.

These passages produced by my Counsel were barely read to your Lordships: no argument, no colours were used, because none were necessary, to prove what propositions were laid down in those passages; whereas to prove me guilty of having asserted what is laid to my charge, after my Sermon and Prefaces were read to your Lordships, much art and industry were used, to persuade your Lordships that such assertions were really contained in them.

My Lords, when my words were capable of two senses, the worst and most invidious, though at the same time the most strained and unnatural construction, has been always made of them. Nay, when my words were so plain and express that it was impossible to put any criminal glosses or colours upon them, I have been accused of meaning the direct contrary to what I have said: and when I pressed the duty of allegiance to the Queen, your Lordships were told, that it was most certain, I meant the Pretender.

To aggravate my guilt, I have been accused not only for what I am supposed to have said, but for what I am allowed not to have said: not only for what I have taken notice of in my Sermons, but for what I have passed by unobserved: I have been charged with negative crimes; as if what I omitted to say had been omitted with design, and my silence itself were criminal.

These, my Lords, are the methods that have been made use of to prove me guilty of crimes, which, if proved, might affect my liberty and fortune; no favourable allowances have been made to a Minister of the Gospel, discharging the duty of his function, and rebuking Vice and Irreligion with an honest and well-meant zeal, but sometimes perhaps carrying him into expressions too open and unguarded. I could add, my Lords, if such a complaint might not be thought improper from one in my circumstances, that, in the course of my accusation, I have been styled a criminal, and treated as such, by some of these honourable gentlemen, with a degree of scorn and indignity, from which I hoped my sacred profession, my present unhappy condition, and a regard to this solemn and awful Judicature, might have screened me.

But, my Lords, I lay aside all complaints of this nature, and, with your Lordships' leave, shall proceed to make some few short observations upon the several branches of the charge exhibited against me.

I am charged, my Lords, in the first article, with having maintained, "That the necessary means used to bring about the late happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable;" in proof of which, it has been urged, that I have in general terms asserted "the utter illegality of resistance to the supreme power upon any pretence whatsoever." My Lords, the resistance in that passage by me condemned, is no where by me applied to the Revolution; nor is it applicable to the case
of

of the Revolution, the supreme power not being then resisted *.

My Lords, I neither expressly applied my doctrine of Non-resistance to the case of the Revolution, nor had I the least thoughts of including the Revolution under my general assertion. I expressed this doctrine in the same general terms in which I found it delivered by the Apostles of Christ. I taught it as I had learnt it from the Homilies of our Church, and as I was enjoined to teach it by the Articles of our Religion. I used no other language than what had been used by our first Reformers, by a continued series of Right Reverend Prelates, and other celebrated Divines, now with God, and by many of those Venerable Fathers before whom I stand, and what is perfectly agreeable to the laws and statutes of this realm. I had little reason to apprehend that I could ever have been accused by the Gentlemen of the House of Commons to your Lordships as a criminal, or as an asperser of the memory of the late King, for preaching this doctrine, when others who preached the same doctrine in the same terms, before their late Majesties, before our present gracious Sovereign (whom I pray God long to preserve!), before each House of Parliament, before this very House of Commons, have met with public approbation. But, since it is my singular misfortune to be accused for what others have received thanks, in some instances conveyed to them by several of the Managers themselves, I do with all humble confidence rely upon your

* Yet in the service by authority, for Nov. 5, God is thanked "for making all opposition fall before him," &c. [K. William.]

Lordships' justice; not doubting but that the learned the Judges, if thought necessary to be consulted, will declare what I have in this case asserted to be warranted by law, and the right reverend the Bishops will affirm it to be the doctrine of the Gospel. The doctrine I preached being the doctrine of the Homilies of our Church, not expressed only in a few particular passages of those Homilies, but perfectly agreeable to the whole tenor, the main scope and design of them; and those Homilies being established by the Thirty-nine Articles, as containing godly and wholesome doctrine; and those Articles being confirmed by the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth; and that statute being made perpetual and fundamental to our constitution by the late act of Union; I leave it to your Lordships to consider, how far the condemnation of me, on the account of that doctrine, may affect and shake the present frame of the British constitution in Church and State, and tend to dissolve the Union of the two Kingdoms.

My Lords, upon the second article, I would humbly pray your Lordships to consider, that I have no where in my Sermon shewn any the least dislike of "the indulgence granted by law to Dissenters;" that, on the contrary, I have declared my approbation of it in the most express terms imaginable, which I beg leave once more to repeat to your Lordships, out of my Sermon preached at St. Paul's. "I would not," I there say, "be misunderstood, as if I intended to cast the least invidious reflection upon that indulgence which the Government hath condescended to give them; which, I am sure, all those who wish well to our Church are ready to grant to consciences truly scrupulous; let them

“them enjoy it in the full limits the law hath prescribed.”

My Lords, this then was, and still is, my sincere opinion; nor am I conscious that I have uttered one word inconsistent with it. I have indeed blamed, and perhaps with some warmth and earnestness blamed, the abuses which men of no conscience have made, of the legal exemption granted to consciences truly scrupulous: nor could I think that those reprehensions of mine would have drawn upon me the displeasure of any sincere Christian, which were leveled against Hypocrites, Socinians, Deists, and such as, under the sanction of that act which permits Protestant Dissenters, and those only, to serve God, every man in his own way, think themselves at liberty to be of no Protestant congregation, of no Religion at all. I will farther ingenuously own to your Lordships, that I had in my eye some abuses made of that act by the Dissenters themselves; who, I am told, do (both pastors and people) rarely observe the qualifications prescribed by that act; and who erect seminaries for educating youth in principles opposite to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of our Church: whereas that act was intended for the ease of those whose minds, through the unhappy prejudices of education, were already estranged from the Church; not, as I humbly conceive, to indulge men in taking the most effectual methods to propagate and perpetuate their schism.

My Lords, of any favours to Dissenters, granted or intended by the law, I have no where complained; of Toleration, a word unknown to our laws, and implying,

ing, as I am informed, much more than our Law-givers designed, if I have said any thing offensive, I may, I hope, reasonably presume that it will not be judged by your Lordships in any wise to reflect on that act of exemption, which I have spoken of in terms no ways, I think, misbecoming a good subject, or betraying any want of Christian moderation. Nor is there, my Lords, any want of it, I conceive, in affirming that this act, which relieves some Dissenters from legal punishments to which they were before obnoxious, hath not any way altered the nature of schism, or extinguished the obligations to Church-communion; which is an evangelical duty incumbent on all Christians, by the rules of the Gospel, antecedent to all secular laws, and can by no human power be dispensed with. If the Church of England, my Lords, imposes no unlawful terms of communion, as she certainly does not, then all separatists from her communion will, notwithstanding the indulgence, continue to be guilty of schism; the consequence of which guilt may still rest upon their souls, however it may cease to affect their bodies or estates: for, as no human law can render that lawful which God hath forbidden, so neither can it make that void which God hath commanded.

My Lords, I am accused, under this head, of maintaining, “that it is the duty of superior pastors to
“thunder out their ecclesiastical anathemas against per-
“sons entitled to the benefit of the toleration.” I hope, it hath evidently appeared to your Lordships, that I advance no such position. Sure I am, that my words do not in themselves carry such a meaning, nor
does

does the connexion of my Discourse require that sense, or easily admit it. Schismatics, my Lords, are not the only persons against whom ecclesiastical censures may be denounced; "the works of darkness," which I referred to, as "fit to be reprov'd," in that part of my Sermon where I speak of these censures, are of the same kind with those mentioned by the Apostle whose words I produced, all lewd and immoral practices: against these, my Lords, and against heresies and blasphemies (a black catalogue of which has been displayed before your Lordships), I thought the anathemas of the Church would be well employed; such anathemas, I doubt not, my Lords, would be "ratified in Heaven," and would, therefore, "by any power on earth be irreversible."

As to Archbishop Grindall, though I may seem to have used some undue asperity of expression concerning him, yet I charged him with nothing but what I had good grounds for, from our Historians. It hath been made appear to your Lordships, that, on the account of his remissness in Church-government, he lived and died under the high displeasure of Queen Elizabeth; and whether therefore he, or that glorious Queen, shall bear the blame of his disgrace and sufferings, is with all humility submitted to your Lordships.

I hope, my Lords, I stand clear in your opinions of the charge advanced against me in the two first articles; and as my own conscience acquits, so I trust your Lordships will acquit me, of whatever is laid to my charge in the third,

My

My Lords, I neither have suggested, nor do in my conscience believe, "that the Church is in the least " peril or adversity from her Majesty's administration." So far am I from any such thoughts, that I am entirely satisfied of her being a most affectionate nursing-mother to it. But I hope I may say without offence, that the Church may be in peril from other causes, without any reflection upon her Majesty's Government, or any contradiction to her royal proclamation, and the resolution of both Houses of Parliament, four years ago. If the Church be in danger when the Christian Religion is evidently so, I hope it will be thought no crime to say, it has scarce ever been in greater danger than it is now, since Christ had a Church upon earth: for, besides that deluge of prophaneness and immorality which overspreads the whole kingdom, besides the variety and growing strength of those schisms which weaken and divide us, and of those heterodox opinions and damnable heresies which are daily published and propagated among us; I verily believe, that never were the ministers of Christ so abused and vilified, never was the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures so arraigned and ridiculed; never were Infidelity and Atheism itself so impudent and bare-faced; never were such horrid blasphemies printed in any Christian state, from the foundation of Christianity to this day.

Out of the many instances of this kind, which, being ready at hand, I could have produced to your Lordships, I have selected a few only; but those such as, I am persuaded, your Lordships could not hear without horror and astonishment. Pardon me, my Lords, if
my

my apprehension of the sad consequences we may expect from such crying abominations have forced from me some expressions, which upon a less occasion might seem too harsh and vehement. A man that dreads no danger from such unparalleled iniquities, that do as it were call down God's severest judgements upon that poor Church and Nation wherein they are openly and daringly committed, must be dead in his love for his country and religion. If I have disclosed such a frightful and detestable scene of impiety, which, by reason of your Lordships' high stations and great employments, might possibly lie undiscovered to your sight before; I shall think myself happy, whatever shall befall me, if I may by God's grace become the mean instrument of putting a stop to that overflowing of ungodliness and blasphemy, which as yet no laws, no proclamations, how well soever designed, and how often soever repeated, have been able to restrain.

Nor ought I, my Lords, to forget, though it was forgotten by the honourable Managers, another ground of danger arising to this Church from the attempts of Popish emissaries, by me mentioned, I hope without the least offence, in my Sermon at St. Paul's, where I say,
 "It were highly to be wished, that those excellent laws,
 "made for the defence and security of the Church,
 "were at present put strictly in execution; for the Ro-
 "man Catholic agents and missionaries, that swarm
 "about this great city, as it were in defiance and con-
 "tempt of them, were never more busy in making pro-
 "felytes to their superstition and idolatry, and per-
 "verting

“verting and debauching her Majesty’s subjects in every
“corner of our streets.” I have not, my Lords, been
called upon to prove the truth of this passage, nor has
it been reckoned among the false insinuations I have
made that “the Church is in danger.” I pray God,
the Church may be in no danger upon any of these
accounts! Her Majesty, your Lordships, and the Com-
mons, have indeed provided against these dangers by
wholesome laws; and, I hope, I did not exceed the
limits of my function, when, being called to preach
before Magistrates, I exhorted them to prevent these
dangers, by putting those laws strictly in execution.

Just had been the indignation of the honourable
House of Commons, just would be your Lordships’
most severe resentments, if, by any parallel by me drawn,
I had insinuated “that the Members of both Houses,
“who passed the vote concerning the safe and flourish-
“ing condition of the Church, had been then con-
“spiring its ruin.” I have already purged myself from
this imputation, by observing, that the parallel ascribed
to me implies, that they who voted King Charles the
First to be out of danger, and those who conspired his
death, were the very same persons, whereas it is cer-
tain they were not; for, my Lords, the vote about the
King’s safety was passed by Lords and Commons a year
and half before his execrable murder, “which had
“been contrived by the Army, and was perpetrated by
“a pretended ordinance of a small remnant of the
“House of Commons (not a tenth part of the whole)
“after the rest of the Members had been imprisoned or
“secluded, and without the concurrence of the House
“of

“ of Peers, who totally rejected it.” You have had, my Lords, a very different representation of this fact made by one of the learned Managers : but this, my Lords, is the real truth, as recited in the act of Parliament for the attainder of the King’s murderers; and is an evidence that I could not possibly mean by any odious parallel to insinuate that the Members of both Houses, who passed the vote concerning the safety of the Church, were then conspiring its ruin.

I humbly crave your Lordships’ patience yet a little farther, whilst I speak to what is alledged in the fourth article, which charges me with many crimes of a very high and flagrant nature; none of which have been endeavoured to be proved upon me, otherwise than from supposed suggestions and undetermined expressions; and I must still, with your Lordships’ leave, humbly insist upon it, that where the expressions are doubtful, there the favourable sense is always to be preferred.

After all that has been said by the learned Managers for the Commons, what Minister of State, I beseech your Lordships, have I been proved to reflect upon, directly or indirectly? Where and how do I, by any suggestion, charge her Majesty, or those in authority under her, with a general mal-administration? How do I persuade her subjects to keep up a distinction of parties and factions, while I reprove those who divide us by knavish distinctions, and while I persuade my fellow-subjects to lose and forget them? How is it possible I should “ stir up the people to arms and violence,” when I am endeavouring to convince them of the utter “ illegality of resistance upon any pretence whatsoever?”

These things, my Lords, seem to be inconsistent, unless a man may be thought a rebel for recommending loyalty, or seditious for preaching against sedition.

I remember indeed, at the opening of this charge against me, that one of the Managers for the House of Commons vouchsafed to offer his charitable assistance towards reconciling this seeming inconsistency; for he was pleased to suppose that, when I spake against resisting the Sovereign, I had not our gracious Queen, but some other person in view; and that I might therefore, agreeably to my principles of Non-resistance, stir up the people to arms and violence against her Sacred Majesty. Your Lordships will once more pardon my earnestness, if I call God to witness that I utterly detest any such traiterous intention; and I should in my own opinion be unworthy of the name of a Christian, if I could give myself leave to cast such a black and groundless imputation upon any one in like circumstances with mine, who had given all possible evidences of his duty and affection to the present Government. My Lords, I have taken the oaths of allegiance to her Majesty, and that of abjuration against the Pretender; and when, therefore, I preached the doctrine of Non-resistance, it is most apparent that the Government which I persuaded my fellow-subjects not to resist is the present Government; and I humbly conceive, that the present Government can never be overturned, if it be never resisted.

How true a zeal and affection I have always borne to her Majesty's person and Government, I leave to be judged by your Lordships and the whole world, from those public demonstrations which I have given of it,

at

at all times when I had occasion to make mention of either. I hope your Lordships will pardon me, if I refer to some of my own printed expressions, as an evident proof of my unfeigned duty and allegiance. If to call it "the most inestimable blessing this nation could enjoy, that her Majesty, the good and pious relict of the Royal Family, sits now happily upon the throne of her ancestors;" if to pray, "that God may long preserve her, for the comfort and support of the Church, as the only security, under God, it has to depend upon;" if, "earnestly to contend for the safety, rights, and establishment of her Majesty, together with those of the Church;" if, "to vindicate her Majesty's title to the Crown, against the usurpations, pretences, and encroachments of her adversaries, and to assert her right to the Throne to have been so clear, manifest, and undoubted, that even her worst enemies (could such a pious Princess be supposed to have any) must acknowledge it; that she was proclaimed, as it were, by the voice of God, in the universal joy, satisfaction, and unanimity of her subjects; that her personal merit, exempted from that, made her worthy of a brighter diadem than she wears;" if, to persuade her subjects, "with the most hearty zeal and generosity, to enter into a necessary war, for the defence of her Majesty, and the common preservation of our Church, liberties, and constitution, against a powerful adversary;" if, to beseech God "to prosper so good an undertaking, to give an happy event and issue to such a rightful cause, to crown our arms with victory, and to make them as successful, as they are just and honourable;

VOL. IV. T

“ honourable; and that, in order to this, we are all
“ bound, both in duty to God and our Sovereign, as
“ well as by our own interest, unanimously and heartily
“ to assist and support her under this great undertaking,
“ as far as our prayers, and estates, lives, and fortunes,
“ can serve her;” if, to persuade her subjects, “ that
“ the great and threatening dangers of our enemies
“ should have that just effect upon us, to unite us as
“ much in our resolutions and affections, as they do in
“ our common interests, apprehensions, and troubles;”
if, “ to set out the blessings we enjoy in the wise con-
“ stitution of our Government and Laws, in the most
“ refined policies of our Parliament and Ministry, in
“ the strength and number of our armies, fleets, and
“ confederates, in the care and watchful vigilance, the
“ courage, resolution, and conduct of our General,
“ and above all in the piety and prudence of our most
“ gracious Queen;” if, to affirm “ that she daily gives
“ fresh instances of her wisdom, in the happy admini-
“ stration of her Government, and in nothing more
“ shews her policy and distinguishing judgement, than
“ in making choice of such Ministers of state, who are
“ acceptable to their country, and express such a zeal
“ and steadiness in its service and true interests, and
“ whom nothing could bribe or betray into a party
“ wherein it might any way seem to be endangered;”
if, with the most ardent requests, “ to implore God’s
“ providence, which through so many dangers and dif-
“ ficulties has raised up and preserved her Majesty, to
“ carry on these glorious undertakings with success,
“ that she may be able to restore and settle the peace of
“ Europe

“ Europe in its just rights and limitations ; and that, as
 “ God has bestowed a crown upon her in this world, as
 “ the reward of these heroic and pious designs, so, after
 “ a long reign here, he would advance her to an higher
 “ throne in Heaven, and dignify her with a glorious and
 “ immortal crown hereafter :” if this, my Lords, I say,
 is “ falsely and maliciously to suggest, that her Majesty’s
 “ administration both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs
 “ tends to the destruction of the Constitution ;” if this
 be “ charging her Majesty, and those in authority under
 “ her both in Church and State, with a general mal-
 “ administration ;” if this be, “ as an incendiary, to
 “ persuade her subjects to keep up distinctions of factions
 “ and parties ;” if this be “ instilling groundless jea-
 “ lousies, fomenting destructive divisions, and stirring up
 “ her Majesty’s subjects to arms and violence, against
 “ any but her enemies :” Then, my Lords, I am guilty
 of this article of impeachment ; otherwise, I am inno-
 cent.

My Lords, I have always thought it my duty, upon
 all public occasions, to assert these principles of loyalty
 and subjection to the Supreme Power, whenever I had
 a proper call so to do. Of this there are numberless
 witnesses in those several places to which I have belonged.
 One of these I beg leave of your Lordships particularly
 to mention, Magdalen College in Oxford, of which I
 am at present an unworthy member ; and which, by
 the known sufferings of the whole body for the
 Church and Constitution, contributed as much towards
 the late happy Revolution as any Society in the King-
 dom. To which honourable Society I humbly appeal

for my character and behaviour. I could also appeal for the same to a Right Reverend Lord *, that now sits on the Bench of Bishops.

Had it been fit to have troubled your Lordships with evidences of my hearty affection to the present Government, I could have produced them in great abundance, from the persons with whom I have conversed, from gentlemen whom I have bred up, and from the congregations to which I have preached. If my principles had any tendency towards alienating the affections of her Majesty's subjects, surely some one instance of my disloyalty to the Queen, some favourable expressions towards the Pretender, some indications of my dislike to the present Settlement and the Protestant succession, might have been pitched upon, and exposed to your Lordships, in order to justify the charge of sedition against me. But I cannot but with pleasure observe to your Lordships, that from the whole course of my actions, no one instance of that kind is alledged, or so much as pretended.

My Lords, the charge of "wickedly wresting divers "texts of Scripture" lies very heavy upon me, as a Christian and Minister of Christ. If I am guilty of it, there is another tribunal, another bar, at which I am to appear, and where, by that Scripture which I have wrested, I shall be judged and condemned. In the mean time, my Lords, I hope that those, whose particular profession and studies qualify them to be the most competent judges of such matters, will absolve me in this particular.

* Dr. Hough, then Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry, who had been a member of Magdalen College. See vol. 1. p. 65.

Upon

Upon the whole, therefore, my Lords, I hope it appears that I am not guilty of any of the crimes of which I am accused; that I have transgressed no law of the land, neither statute nor common law, relating either to her Majesty or to my fellow-subjects, to the Church or to the State; and that I may with all humility apply to my own case the words of that blessed Apostle whose doctrine I defend, and whose example I hope I shall have the grace to follow: "neither against the law, nor against the temple, nor against Cæsar, have I offended any thing at all *."

What I have hitherto humbly offered to your Lordships relates to my words and actions; and as to the thoughts and intentions of my heart, which are known only to God and my own conscience, and which are affirmed in my impeachment to be "wicked, seditious, and malicious;" I call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious manner, as I expect to be acquitted before God and his holy angels, at that dreadful tribunal before which not only I, but all the world, even your Lordships who now sit in judgment upon me, must appear to be acquitted or condemned, that I had no such wicked, seditious, or malicious intentions; that there is nothing upon earth I more detest and abhor; that my designs were, in every respect, directly contrary. I had no intention to asperse the memory of his late Majesty, to traduce or condemn the late happy Revolution, or to arraign the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. So far was I from designing "to undermine and subvert her Majesty's go-

* Acts xxv. 8.

“vernment, and the Protestant Succession as by law
 “established;” that it was my sincere intention to exert
 my best endeavours for their security. So far was I
 from intending “to persuade her Majesty’s subjects to
 “keep up a distinction of parties and factions, from in-
 “stilling groundless jealousies, fomenting destructive
 “divisions among them, or exciting and stirring them
 “up to arms and violence;” that my aim was to per-
 suade them “to lay aside all distinctions, to unite in one
 “well-compact body, to be obedient to their gover-
 “nors, and to support the present Establishment.” So
 far was I from designing “to defame her Majesty’s ad-
 “ministration, or to infuse any undutiful thoughts of
 “Her;” that I not only pay her all honour and obe-
 dience, but am from the bottom of my soul zealously
 and affectionately loyal to her; being entirely persuaded
 that the Church is so far from being in danger from her,
 that she is as heartily affected to its establishment and
 prosperity, as I hope I have always shewed myself to
 be to her sacred person and government.

As to the Protestant Succession by law established,
 though the doctrine which I preached tends to the se-
 curity of it (as I heartily desire every thing by me spo-
 ken should tend); yet having no occasion in either of
 my Sermons to take notice of it, I do no where in those
 Sermons mention it, nor say any thing that can be in-
 terpreted to have any view towards it. Therefore,
 though I cannot with my best application apprehend
 how it comes to be said, in the preamble to my impeach-
 ment, “that I designed to undermine and subvert it;”
 yet I shall gladly take this opportunity of declaring
 myself

myself before your Lordships upon that subject. It is my sincere and hearty prayer, that God would prolong the life of her most sacred Majesty, whose exemplary goodness and piety give us the best hopes we have of averting that vengeance which is due to the wickedness of the age we live in; that he would bless her councils at home, and her arms abroad, and make her reign exceed that of her renowned predecessor Queen Elizabeth in length as well as glory; but when the Inheritress of the blessed Martyr's crown and piety, when she, "the desire of our eyes, and the breath of our nostrils," shall, full of years and honour, be gathered to her fathers, and exchange her temporal for an immortal Crown (since we are deprived of that Prince*, her royal offspring, whose loss no true lover of his country and of the Royal Family can reflect upon without a bleeding heart, and whom God in his anger took from us because we were unworthy of so inestimable a blessing); I earnestly beseech God, in defect of future issue from her Majesty, to perpetuate the succession of the Crown as it is established, in the most illustrious House of Hanover, which I look upon as, next to his Providence, the best guard we have against Popery and Arbitrary Power, the best security of our Church, and of the constitution of our Government, which is the glory and happiness of our own nation, and the envy of all others. And I cannot yet apprehend how the doctrine which I have taught tends to weaken or undermine it; nor, on the other side, how the doctrine of Resistance, which brought her Majesty's royal Grand-

* Her Majesty's son, the Duke of Gloucester.

father to the block (supposing it a true doctrine), comes to be mentioned or thought of, much less to be industriously maintained as a necessary and indispensable duty, under the most mild and gracious administration of the Best of Queens. Nothing seems more strange than that Resistance should be so carefully taught under such a Government, unless it be that Non-resistance should overturn it.

So far was I, therefore, from having any of those wicked, malicious, or seditious designs, which are laid to my charge, that my intentions were, on the contrary, to instill the principles of loyalty and obedience into my fellow subjects, and withal to put a stop to that torrent of Lewdness, Irreligion, and Atheism, of which I have given your Lordships so many flagrant testimonies.

Those outrageous insults upon God and goodness are so provoking, that they may excuse some heat and severity of expression in a Minister of Christ, who has a just sense of Religion, a due concern for the discharge of his holy function, or for the honour of his Maker and Redeemer. And if any objection be made against me, for treating with an unbecoming bitterness such daring Rabsnekahs, who "defy the living God *;" I beg leave to reply, in the words of a Reverend Father of our Church, "Let them consider what moderation and temper a man had need be of, that in this nation and this age shall speak against Faction, Rebellion," (I add, Deism, Tritheism, and all sorts of Heresy, Blasphemy, and Atheism,) "without extraordinary severity." Nay, it is our duty in such cases to express ourselves with

* Isai. xxxvi. 13. 1 Sam. xvii. 26.

warmth and sharpness, according to the example of our blessed Saviour; who, though meekness itself, could not but shew the utmost indignation at the profaning of the House of God. This is not, my Lords, to rail, but to rebuke; and those who ridicule or censure us for it either have not I presume, or will not own they have, a right notion of the dignity of our office; will not consider, that we are the ambassadors of Christ, that we are commanded in his name "to exhort, and rebuke with all authority *;" and that our authority is derived from those to whom it was said by our blessed Saviour, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me †." Whatever expressions, therefore, in my Sermons, may have slipped from me, which seem so far liable to exception as to carry a sense I never intended (as he must be an happy speaker indeed whose words are altogether unexceptionable); yet, I humbly hope, the abovementioned provocations will plead my excuse, or that at the very worst some hasty or even violent expressions shall not be deemed "high crimes and misdemeanors." I desire it may be farther considered by your Lordships, that I could have no temporal interests to serve by the doctrines I advanced; and therefore could have no design in view, but to discharge my duty to God as a Minister of Christ, and to my Sovereign as a faithful and loyal subject.

My Lords, these things being humbly offered to the consideration of your Lordships, I hope that what I have already suffered as a supposed criminal will be thought

* Tit. ii. 15.

† Luke x. 16.

sufficient punishment for one who has offended against no law yet in being. It must be thought no little grief and vexation to any ingenuous man, to be brought to this bar under the least suspicion of such crimes as are laid to my charge. But for a person of my function to have an accusation of this nature alledged against him, so heinously reflecting upon his holy character, is such a foul blot, as, though his innocence should at last be cleared by your Lordships upon the most undeniable evidence, must leave a scar upon his good name; which is to all men dear, but much more so to those whose whole capacity of doing good in the world principally depends upon it.

My Lords, as the matter of my charge was highly criminal, so the form and manner of it ran in such general and uncertain terms, that it was impossible to know the grounds of my accusation; or how to defend myself, when I knew not where I should be attacked; so that, after I had provided as particular an answer as such a general accusation would admit of, the Commons were pleased in their replication to say, that "there were several things in it foreign to the charge." To the great misfortune of falling under the displeasure of that honourable House, I might add that of a long and close confinement, and of an expence no way proportioned to my circumstances. These, my Lords, are afflictions which can be conceived by nobody so well as by him who has been so unhappy as to feel the weight of them. And among these I reckon it not the least of my sufferings, that I have been for so long a time debarred "from taking heed to that flock over which the

"Holy Ghost hath made me an overteer *." For even since I have had my liberty, by the favour of your Lordships' admitting me to bail, I have purposely avoided doing any part of the duty of my function, or even appearing in public, lest it should occasion any tumult or disturbance; and my necessary attendance on your Lordship from time to time has since been thought unhappily to have done, without any fault of mine, or the least degree of encouragement given by me, which I profess in the presence of God to abhor.

All these circumstances, my Lords, being considered, together with the public manner, the length, and solemnity of my Trial, before so august a Court of Judicature, by which means "I am made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches, and afflictions, and a spectacle to the whole world †;" I have stood in this place day after day, to hear myself accused of the blackest crimes, and openly reviled; I have been represented as a Papist in disguise, as a rebel, as an enemy to her Majesty's person and government, and a favourer of the Pretender, though I have abjured him (but not forgot him, as a learned person was pleased to say); that is, as the worst of perjured villains: I have been called "an insignificant tool of a party" on the one hand, and "a most dangerous incendiary" on the other, nay "an angel," that is, a devil, "detached from the infernal regions;" all these things, I say, being considered, (and your Lordships I am sure, in tender compassion to me, will consider them,) it is most certain that, whatever be your Lordships' determination concerning me, I cannot escape

* Acts xx. 28.

† Heb. x. 33.

without being a very great sufferer; and I shall have been abundantly punished, though I should have the happiness to be by your Lordships at last acquitted.

Yet I cannot reflect without comfort (the greatest of comforts next to that of a good cause and a good conscience) that I answer for myself this day before the most illustrious Assembly in the world, the whole body of the Nobility of Great Britain; whose princely extraction and high quality, whose magnificent titles and splendid fortunes, whose hereditary candour and generosity inherent in noble blood, inseparable from the birth and education of Peers; in a word, whose solid judgement, and exact skill in the laws of this realm, so eminently qualify them for the final determination of justice; who are neither to be swayed by hopes, over-ruled by fears, nor misled by any false prejudice or passion. If it must be a man's misfortune to labour under such hard circumstances as mine, it is no small mitigation of them, that he pleads his cause before such Judges, who, he knows, will decide it with the strictest impartiality, equity, and honour.

And when I consider that "I now stand, and am judged *," for some of the doctrines of that Gospel which God "delivered unto our fathers," and you, my Lords the Bishops, their successors, have received from Christ and his Apostles, as the sacred depositum of the Church, to be maintained inviolably in its primitive simplicity; when I consider what is "the cause for which "I am this day called in question †;" that it is one of those eternal truths which you are so solemnly commis-

* Acts xxvi. 6.

† Acts xxiii. 6.

fioned to teach, and earnestly contend for; when I consider, that it is what our blessed Lord and his Apostles sealed with their most precious blood, and so many primitive Martyrs maintained even in the midst of flames, so many learned Bishops and Confessors recommended to posterity, in their immortal writings, as the distinguishing badge and glory of our Reformation; nay, when I consider that it is what you yourselves have already supported with incontestable reason and authority; it is no small satisfaction to me to think, that as your Lordships are my judges, so I hope in God you must be my Advocates. What a guilt, as well as disgrace, would it justly devolve upon the Clergy, to recede from any principle of our excellent Church, especially from what has been so long retained, and boasted of as its peculiar character! by abandoning which, we must relapse into some of the worst doctrines even of Popery itself, and render ourselves the most contemptible as well as inconsistent Church in the world! I think I may therefore with confidence use the words of the great Apostle to his accusers; "Having obtained help from God, I continue
 "unto this day, witnessing both to small and great;
 "saying none other things than those which the Prophets
 "and Moses" (I may add Christ and his Apostles) "did
 "say *."

For, my Lords, if I have committed any faults or errors in expression, yet as I insist upon my innocence with respect to all the high crimes laid to my charge, so I must still insist upon all the doctrines which I have taught, as being agreeable to the word of God, and to

* Acts xxvi. 22.

the doctrine of our most excellent and truly apostolical Church, and which we of the Clergy are obliged, both by subscription and oath, to acknowledge and defend. And how hard are our circumstances, if we must be punished in this world for doing that which if we do not we shall be more heavily punished in the next! What a condition are we in, if we are commanded “to cry aloud and spare not, to exhort, rebuke, in season and out of season *,” on the one hand, and persecuted, imprisoned, ruined, on the other! If this be our case, who indeed is sufficient for these things? and how truly may we of the Ministry, above all men living, apply to ourselves those words of the Apostle, “if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable †!” But our comfort is, that our “hope in Christ” is not only “in this life.” Justly might we be reproached, and deserve some of those reflections which in these licentious times are so plentifully poured upon us, were we not ready to practise the doctrines we preach, of self-denial, taking up our cross, and patient submission to sufferings and afflictions! For my own part, it matters not what becomes of me, nor is my deliverance or ruin of any moment to the world; or if it be, “I am ready not only to be bound, but to die ‡,” could I by that do service to my Queen, my Church, or my country; “neither count I my life dear, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus §.” But may God so direct your Lordships, that

* 2 Tim. iv. 2.

† 1 Cor. xv. 19.

‡ Acts xxi. 13.

§ Acts xx. 24.

through

through me a wound may not be given to the doctrines of the Scriptures, and of "the Church, which Christ "hath purchased with his own blood *!"

And so, with all humility and resignation, I submit myself to your Lordships' judgement. Be it what it will, one thing I am sure it can never take from me, the power of wishing and praying; and (whether in prosperity or adversity, whether I am acquitted or condemned) I shall always pray for the Queen my Sovereign, for your Lordships my Judges, and for the Commons my Accusers; most earnestly beseeching Almighty God, to deliver all orders and degrees of men amongst us, "from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism, from "hardness of heart, from contempt of his word and "commandment; from envy, hatred, and malice, and "all uncharitableness."

* Acts xx. 28.

XIV. ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN, FROM THE
BISHOP OF EXETER, THE CANONS AND
OTHER DIGNITARIES OF ST. PETER'S, AND
THE CLERGY OF THE CITY OF EXETER
AND PARTS ADJACENT *.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

THOUGH your Majesty is thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the English Clergy, and (as we humbly hope) entirely satisfied of their loyalty; yet we cannot but think it our duty, at this time, to join in the general voice and applications of your subjects of all conditions, and from all quarters of the land, to give your Majesty all possible assurances, that our principles are the same they ever were, and our affection to your sacred Person and Government unmoveable.

The late wicked attempts of the enemies of Revealed Religion against the truths of Christianity, and particularly against the doctrines of the Church of England, have made it necessary for all the faithful Sons of that Church to appear for her with a dutiful and zealous concern; and the opposers of true English loyalty have

* This Address was presented by Dr. Atterbury, in his character of Archdeacon of Totness. He was introduced by Mr. Harley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer; was very graciously received; and had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand.

† See Post-boy, Sept. 14, 1710.

obliged

obliged the generous spirits of this nation, with an extraordinary ardour, to renew their vows of fidelity to your Majesty. We bless God for this seasonable interposition of his Providence in behalf of this Church and of the Crown; for inspiring the friends of each of them (which are indeed always the friends of both) with zeal and resolution suitable to the exigency of the present time, and by this means turning the designs of our implacable enemies to the visible advantage of our Religion, Country, and Constitution, both in Church and State.

For ourselves, notwithstanding all the endeavours that have been used, secretly and openly, to introduce into the minds of your Majesty's people, irreligious, factious, and republican opinions, we are determined, by the Divine assistance, stedfastly to adhere to the good old principles we have learnt, and have constantly taught; and to pay your Majesty such an obedience as our holy Religion and the laws of the land require of us, as our strict indispensable duty; at the same time esteeming ourselves bound by your Majesty's singular goodness, and manifold favours towards us, to acknowledge the same to your Majesty as a debt of gratitude.

And we do, with all humble confidence, rely on your sacred Majesty, for the continuance of your Royal protection to this national Church, and your particular encouragement to all the sincere members of it. And this we promise ourselves, not only from your Majesty's royal word and repeated declarations, but also from your native goodness, your exemplary piety, so acceptable to God, and admired by men, your known regard

and esteem for our happy Establishment, and the many great things you have already done for it, since it pleased the Divine Providence, by an agreeable dispensation, to place the guardianship of the best of Churches in the hands of the best of Queens.

May it long remain in those hands! and may the Divine goodness go on conspicuously to prosper and bless your Majesty in the custody and protection of it! May God preserve you from all those that would invade your Kingdoms from abroad, and from those that would disturb the quiet of your Government at home; that neither the detestable superstition of Popery may ever again return and prevail against us; nor the pretended fears of it any longer divide and distract us! May your fleets and armies continue their victorious progress, till they shall have restored to your subjects the ever desirable blessing of peace! And may the same good Providence which has brought your Majesty to succeed by just right of inheritance in the throne of your royal Ancestors, to the great joy of this present generation, effectually provide for the like happiness of posterity, by continuing the Protestant Succession to the Crown, as it is now settled by law, in the heirs of your Majesty's body (a blessing we are still willing to hope for), and, in default of such issue, in the most illustrious House of Hanover!

These, may it please your Majesty, are the dutiful sentiments of us whose names are subscribed, and, we believe, we may truly say of the whole body of the Clergy of this large Diocese; and (we doubt not) will also be found agreeable to the sense of all the Clergy
of

of the Church of England by law established, whenever your Majesty shall be graciously pleased to receive it in full Convocation.

XV. DR. SMAIRIDGE'S SPEECH * TO THE
UPPER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION, WHEN
HE PRESENTED DR. ATTERBURY AS
PROLOCUTOR, Nov. 25, 1710 †.

ID officii, quod à te, Pater Reverendissime ‡, sibi demandatum habuit Clerus, ut virum aliquem doctum et disertum, suscipiendo Prolocutoris muneri idoneum, suslinendo parem, è gremio suo eligeret, pro solenni more fideliter explevit; vobisque hodie, Patres admo-

* An English translation of this Speech was published by Dr. Sewel.

† “ If we may guess the temper of a Convocation from the choice of a Prolocutor, as it is usual to do that of a House of Commons by the Speaker, we may expect great things from that Reverend Body, who have done themselves much reputation by pitching upon a gentleman of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge which are proper for it. I am sorry that the three Latin speeches delivered upon presenting the Prolocutor were not made public: they might perhaps have given us some light into the disposition of each House: and, besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in entertainment what it wanted in instruction.” SWIFT, Examiner, N° XXI.

‡ Abp. Tenison; the *third* speaker alluded to by Swift. The other two speeches are here preserved.

dum Venerandi, meâ voce commendat eximium hunc Virum *, nostræ, vestræ, et bonorum omnium existimationi suis in ecclesiam meritis jampridem commendatum; Virum iis ingenii dotibus præditum, ut omni præconio sit dignus, eâ nominis famâ celebrem, ut nullo indigeat; Virum ad descriptam à majoribus designandi Prolocutoris formulam adeò compositum, ut non tam nostris suffragiis quàm antiquis synodorum legibus ad insigne hoc munus evocari videatur. Si quid enim adjumenti afferat ad obeundam hanc provinciam exquisita doctrina; quis eam majori aut suâ laude aut nostro fructu est obiturus, quàm Vir in nullo literarum genere hospes, in plerisque artibus et studiis diù et feliciter exercitatus, in maximè perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus? Si ad consummati Prolocutoris tandem id præcipuè pertinet, ut complurium disertissimorum virorum sententiam sui unius linguâ eleganter exprimat, habemus Oratorem eâ facundiâ perpolitum, ut à vobis, Patres, minimè metuendum sit ne responsorum vestrorum dignitati suâ dicendi inscitiâ detrahet; à nobis maximè sperandum, quòd nostris desideriis multum ponderis ac momenti suâ eloquentiâ sit additurus. Si in conciliandis hominum animis plurimum valet gratia, in concionibus moderandis permagnam vim habet auctoritas, quem potius optemus rerum inter nos disquirendarum arbitrum, quàm Virum placidissimis moribus ita popularem, ut omnes bonos atque humanos indolis suæ suavitate ad pacis et concordiae studium faciliè speret allicere; ita sine arrogantia gravem, ut procellarum si quæ fortè ingruerint motus, ipsius præsentiae dignitate

* Dr. Atterbury.

statim

statim represserit? Vestræ igitur expectationi, Patres Sanctissimi, parum satisfecerat Clerus, si gravissimum hoc onus in humeros minùs valentes collocaverat, pariterque ingratum sese et maximorum beneficiorum immemorem arguerat, si quæ honoris præmia penes ipsos posita Viro optimè de se merito non libenter obtulerat. Primam certè sedem in Synodali nostrâ domo jure vindicat, qui, fuscitante Deo, id vehementer conatus est, favente Deo, id feliciter effecit, ut non omnino demortuæ, non penitùs elingues apud nos fuerint Synodi.

Favete mihi, Patres, hanc rem paulò altius repententi; nihil ad dignitatem vestram, quam ex animo submissè veneror, minuendam, nihil ad inimicitias, à quibus totus abhorreo, resuscitandas sum dicturus. Multis jam annis interrupta fuerant Prelatorum et Cleri concilia: ad tractanda reipublicæ negotia frequens fuit Senatûs Populique congressio, ad promovendam Ecclesiæ utilitatem nulli interim Episcoporum cum Presbyteris conventus. Iniquo id consilio factum non dico, non existimo: imò ex propensâ in Ecclesiam voluntate, ex pio diffidii metu, ex ardentissimo pacis conservandæ studio profectum faciliè credo; verùm enimvero diuturnam illam Synodorum intermissionem in maximum Ecclesiæ detrimentum aliquando cessuram multi autumabant homines nec improbi nec imprudentes. Quod ab optimo Principe optimis consiliis inchoatum nôrant, id à peiori Principe pejora meditati in Ecclesiæ perniciem trahi posse valdè metuebant. Multa interea novorum dogmatum portenta indies evulgantur, multæ ubique hæreses virus suum ac venena impunè spargunt: in sacerdotes, in res sacras, in sanctissimum ipsius Dei

nomen, dictu turpia, auditu horrenda evomuntur convitia. Adversus teterrimas has pestes salubre olim ac præfens remedium adhibuerat Synodorum auctoritas: hanc opem boni omnes implorârant, hâc ope destituti, de tuendâ apud nos religione prorsus desperandum putant. Ea fuit rerum nostrarum conditio, cùm Synodi Anglicanæ jura, potestates, ac privilegia in apertâ luce collocanda et firmissimis legum ac consuetudinum præfidiis munienda censuit Vir doctissimus. Ad hanc metam collimans, antiqua Ecclesiæ monimenta situ et squalore obsita sedulus vestigat; cogendarum Synodorum viam ac rationem, habendarum normam et regulam, non ex sermone hominum recenti, non ex nostrâ aut patrum nostrorum memoriâ, sed ex priscorum commentariis, ex regum edictis, ex pontificum fastis, eruendas ducit: chartas ipsâ vetustate penè oblitteratas, locis multùm diffitas, magno labore ac pretio conquistas, in sua scrinia * compilat, legit, relegitque. Hisce adminiculis adjutus, viam multis spinis obsessam, spissis tenebris obvolutam, variis ambagibus perplexam, primus infistit: nullus erat quem tutò sequeretur itineris dux, nulla quæ gressus dirigerent præcuntium vestigia; quin ille suis ingenii luminibus fretus, et flagrandi veritatis indagandæ studio accensus, eam tandem utcunque abditam et reclusam integumentis suis evolvit; rebus obscuris lucem, ambiguis fidem, inornatis nitorem attulit: antiquam Ecclesiæ faciem, reducto quasi velo, omnibus contemplandum pariter ac suspiciendam ante ora atque oculos posuit; expressam ejus imaginem justâ lineamentorum

* In the "Rights, &c. of an English Convocation." See these volumes, *passim*.

figuratione conformatam, aptis coloribus depictam, in hujusce Viri scriptis læti conspiciamus; quanto majori lætitiâ simul et veneratione Matronam ipsam, quasi à mortuis reviviscentem, spirantem denum et loquentem coram intuebimur! Nullo Hunc rerum novandarum studio, nullâ privatim læsum injuriâ, nullâ præmii spe adductum, nullâ re aliâ commotum nisi communi Ecclesiæ utilitate, arduum hoc opus suscepisse, si non ipsi sæpe id et solenniter asseveranti fidem adhiberem, Virum mihi ob officiorum conjunctionem valdè dilectum, ob spectatam integritatem perquam honoratum gravi injuriâ afficerem: si eam opinionem quæ animo meo penitus insedit, quamque non ex inani conjecturâ temerè arripui, sed ex intimiori consuetudine experiundo suscepi, aliorum animis inferere non studerem, nec benevoli, nec fidi, nec honesti viri officio defungerer. Nunquam illum in tam longo opere lapsum esse, nunquam errâsse, nullum fervente calamo verbum emisisse, quod non restinctis animi incendiis revocare vellet, si dicerem, plena invidiâ foret oratio, et nulli magis quàm ipsi molesta: si non sæpe lapsum, non graviter deceptum, non sponte alios in errorem traxisse dixero; si plurima in istis paginis enitere, quæ summam laudem mereantur, perpauca esse quæ excusatione indigeant, planè nulla quibus homines benevoli haud facilè ignoscant, fidenter asseram, dicam quod et ego sentio, et, nisi præ nimiam amicitiam invitatus fallar, mecum sentiunt omnes æquorum æstimatores. Sit igitur veniæ, sit laudi, sit gratitudini locus; si quid fortè asperius, si quid ardentius, si quid liberius effuderit, lector paulò humanior id non odio, non livori, non arrogantiae tribuet; sed aut inge-

nio suapte naturâ aliquantulum præservido, aut fortasse iracundiæ in milite pro aris focisque acriter dimicante, in filio ab injuriâ et vi matrem suam eripiente facillè ignoscendæ. Quòd si plures in illius scriptis effulgent virtutes, si res tractaverit cognitu difficiles, utiles, jucundas; si eas validissimis argumentis firmaverit; si puro ac dilucido sermone in ipsis legentium animis inscripserit; eruditioni apud eruditos, eloquentiæ apud disertis suis constet honos. Si Synodorum privilegia ac libertates haud sine aliquo fortunæ suæ discrimine constanter asseruit, si publicæ utilitati rem privatam posthabuit, jurium Ecclesiasticorum vindici aliqua saltem ab Ecclesiasticis rependatur gratia: hanc aptissimam laborum suorum mercedem reportet Vir in agendis rebus acer et industrius, ut spatiosior ei aperiaturs campus, ubi in instaurandâ, in promovendâ, in stabiliendâ Ecclesiæ pace ingenium suum ac vires exerat. Quo audientium plausu apud Populum, apud Magistratum, apud Clerum, apud Senatores, apud Aulicos, è rostris frequenter concionatus est: quâ facundiâ et Mariæ * in cœlum jam receptæ aures sæpe demulsit, et Sororis divinâ gratiâ adhuc superstitis et diu (ita faxit Deus) superfuturæ animum gravi ac recenti dolore † ferè oppressum recreavit; quâ dignitate Concionatoris, Canonici, Archidiaconi, Decani munia officiis et locis distincta, diu sustinuit! eâdem circumstantium approbatione, eâdem eloquentiâ, iisdem virtutibus Prolocutoriam hanc cathedram aliquantulum perornet, aliam atque altiori honoris gradu positam (nisi vana auguror ‡)

* The royal consort of King William III.

† The death of George Prince of Denmark.

‡ Dr. Atterbury's promotion to the mitre soon followed this prediction of his friend.

aliquando

aliquando ornaturus. Quicquid certè Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ utile aut gloriosum fuerit, id omne nobis spondet hodiernus rerum status: Populi studium, principum virorum fervor, optimæ Reginæ pietas, arctissima inter ordines Civiles atque Ecclesiasticos concordia. Fuit semper inter inferiora Regni et Ecclesiæ concilia affinitatis conjunctio, et qualis inter sorores esse solet, cum diversitate aliquâ non parva similitudo; at propior iis jam abhinc incedet cognatio, dum duobus hisce cœtibus duo præerunt viri * in eâdem æde, fœcundâ optimarum artium parente, pariter innutriti, sub eodem beatæ memoriæ antistite † simul educati, iisdem principiis penitus imbuti, uterque fide in Principem, in Patriam, in Ecclesiam exploratâ, stabili, inconcussâ: uterque magna de se pollicitus, majora præstiturus: alter Reipublicæ, alter Ecclesiæ optimè apud nos constitutæ et feliciter atemperatæ propugnator strenuus. Dignus sanè ille, quem Senatus Reginæ addictissimus sibi præficeret, quem Regina civium amantissima auctoritate suâ confirmaret: nec indignus hic, quem Clerus Episcopali ordini firmiter obstrictus deditusque, vobis, Patres, commendet; quem vos, Patres maximè colendi, pro tenerrimâ in Clerum affectu, calculis vestris comprobetis.

* William Bromley, of Baggington, esq. M. P. for the University of Oxford 1701 (see vol. I. p. 85.) was Atterbury's contemporary at Christ-Church; was elected Speaker of the House of Commons at the same time as his friend was chosen Prolocutor; and in 1713 was appointed Secretary of State. He died Feb. 14, 1731-2. His son Clobery Bromley, Esq. died March 20, 1710-11; on which occasion the House adjourned for four days, "out of respect to the father, and to give him time, both to perform the funeral rites, and to indulge his just affliction."

† Bishop Fell.

XVI. DR. ATTERBURY'S SPEECH ON HIS
ELECTION TO THE OFFICE OF PROLOCU-
TOR OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVO-
CATION, Nov. 25, 1710.

DUÆ sunt res, Reverendissime Primas, vosque Patres admodum Reverendi, quæ mihi in solenni hæc frequentia peroraturæ, vel metum incutiunt, vel pudorem; quod et hærente adhuc in auribus vestris viri facundissimi oratione *, et peracto, ut moris est, laudum mearum præconio, ego ad dicendum continuo accedam. Hinc enim dilucidius multò quam vellem, patebit, et quantum sit id (si quid omnino sit) quod in eloquendo possim, et laudibus in me cumulatè nimium congestis quam sim indignus: ita ut in exequendo hoc humanitatis ac benevolentia officio, tum iis quæ dicta sunt, tum ipso dicendi genere, utrinque mihi officiat, utrinque me opprimat vir amicissimus.

Multa in illo egregia, multa præclara; ingenii magna vis, acies subtilis; sermo perspicuus, promptus, profluens; vultus fide, modestia, gravitate, constantia plenus; pectus candore, prudentia, omni virtutum, omni doctrinarum genere refertum. His ille instructus dotibus, quam provinciam, quod munus, non dignè tueretur? quam cathedram non deceret, non ornaret?

Me quod attinet, ut verum fatear, à tuo hoc, vir optime, laudum cumulo absum quam longissimè: et

* Dr. Smalridge's Speech on this occasion. See p. 291.

tamen qui, vel me iudice, tibi debebatur, is ad me, immerentem utcunque, à fratribus delatus est honos; quid aliud in me spectantibus; nisi forte id unum, quod res ritusque Synodicos oblivione jam sepultos in memoriam revocare, caligine obductos in lucem, quâ licuit, proferre conatus sim; quod in indagandis, in patefaciendis, in tuendis Cleri Anglicani juribus multum et laboris et temporis insumpserim?

Hâc, credo, ratione adducti me gregis sui ducem et disceptationum moderatorem esse voluerunt Inferioris Concilii Fratres: quod tamen minimè voluissent, nisi hæc eorum animis simul insedisset opinio, ejusmodi me esse, qui vos in apice Episcopali positos reverear ac colam, qui dignitati atque auctoritati vestræ impensè studeam, qui à Presbyteranâ paritate, quantumque maximè abhorream, qui denique ad ferendam inter ordines Ecclesiasticos concordiam (heu! diu nimis desideratam!) sim paratissimus.

Habetis enim, habetis certè Clerum, vobis omni quo par est obsequio devinctum, honoris atque amplitudinis vestræ studiosissimum, qui, utcunque quod suum est retinere, si fas sit optent, in id tamen quod vestrum est involare ita non optant, non audent, ut contra audentes pro virili decertare sui esse officii semper duxerint.

In eam quidem, Angli cum sint, facilè propendent sententiam, libertatem cum imperio pulchrè posse constare; et si politiæ civili sacra, quantum per leges Christi licet, attemperetur, nihil inde in Ecclesiam, nihil in sanctissimum vestrum ordinem periculi redundare.

Non esse è re Christiana existimant, in Synodis aut omnia, aut nihil omnino, per Presbyteros agi; hæc iis

errare .

errare videntur Pontificii illac Reformatorum quamplurimi. Nobis ferè solis contigisse autumant, ut mediocritatem illam auream teneamus, quâ ad ævi Ignatiani imaginem proximè acceditur. Episcoporum hic apud nos prærogativam, Presbyterorum jura, tam arctis inter se vinculis cohærere intelligunt, ut non nisi ægrè, non sine magno urrorumque incommodo, possint divelli. Vos caput suum et columnen libenter agnoscunt; vestrà ope ficti, auctoritate nixi, consiliorum suorum exitus faustos semper ac felices futuros non vani augurantur; vestro auxilio destituti, patrocínio orbat, frustra se aliquid in Ecclesiæ usus promere, frustra moliri facîle sentiunt. Liceat iis interim id sibi gloriæ sumere, quod vobis adjumenti aliquid ipsi vicissim suppeditent, quod ornamenta dignitatis, præsidia stabilitatis vestræ, ab iis ipsis quibus præstis potissimum ducantur.

Juvat eos animo repetere, juvat ob oculos ponere felicia illa tempora, cum, Episcopis Presbyterisque nullâ in re à se invicem dissidentibus, omnium una esset mens, vox una. Tum Senatui huic Populoque Ecclesiastico suus habitus est honos, tam canonicæ disciplinæ vis valuit, Synodorum viguit auctoritas; atque Ecclesiæ nostræ facies ad instar sponsæ illius à Salomone depictæ, "pulchra erat, suavis et decora; terribilis, ut castrorum acies ordinata." Hoc animorum consensu, hoc consiliorum communicatione, erectos se ac firmatos haud ita pridem meminere, cum castissimos Ecclesiæ ritus et ceremonias à schismaticorum calumniis ita vindicarent, ita optimis argumentis undequaque munirent, ut adversariis ingenuis et veriamantibus omnem in posterum disputandi ansam præriperiat.

Hæc

Hâc partâ victoriâ, à novo protinus infensissimoque hoste laceffiti, sub Episcoporum, ut ante, vexillis contra ingruentem Papatûs tyrannidem strenuè militârunt, sub iisdem iterum, eo si res redeant (quod avertat Deus) haud segniùs militaturi. Hos itaque lætissimos concordie fructus quanto attentius considerant, tantò magis ob subortas, quibus jam ferè per decennium implicati sumus lites, anguntur et dolent. A quo fonte hæc ad vos nosque manârint incommoda, nec libet, nec refert curiosius exquirere; id potius sedulò agendum, ut, siqua forte sit, quâ ad interclusam hæcenus gratiam redire liceat, aperiatur via; siqua sit quæ crudescenti adhuc vulneri sanando par erit, adhibeatur medela. “ Num-
“ quid Regina non est in Gilead? aut medicus non est
“ ibi? quare igitur non est obducta cicatrix filiæ populi
“ meæ?” Inter eos qui in dispari honoris gradu positi sunt, discissa semel non cito coalescit necessitudo, cum ad libera fere colloquia aditus iis obstruatur. “ At non
“ est qui utrumque valeat arguere, et ponere manum
“ suam in ambobus *?”

Inter pares si inciderit similtas, si incaluerit, lentè admodum deponitur, cum neuter alteri sit facilè cessurus. Ecquisnam surget spectatæ gravitatis et prudentiæ Vir, qui averfos animos lenire, et ad pristinam consuetudinem revocare aggrediatur, emissâ illâ hominum mansuetissimi voce, “ Viri, Fratres estis; ut quid nocetis
“ alterutrum?”

Si, qui hinc inde steterint causæ utriusque propugnatores, scriptis suis asperius aliquid, atque à fraternâ charitate alienius immiscuerint, nemòne jam adhuc

* Job ix. 33.

superest Constantini æmulus, qui quod utrinque, seu mentium errore, seu partium fortè studio, humanitùs admissum est, purpura regali obtegit, et sempiternâ oblivione delendum censeat?

Imo non deest, Patres, quæ clementissimi illius Imperatoris vestigia sequi velit, Regina; quæ cum dies noctesque exterarum gentium tranquillitati prospiciat, domesticæ certè paci non minus consulet; quæ communis patriæ parens cum sit, omnes imperio suo subditos incredibili benevolentia prosequitur et fovet, Clerum præcipuè, cujus se commodis invigilare, existimationi favere, jam inde ab auspiciatissimis regni sui initiis illustri documento testatum voluit.

Ejusdem certè est, quæ aucto Ecclesiæ patrimonio piè operam dedit, ne rerum sacrarum ministri præ inopiâ sprete atque oppressi jacerent, cavere etiam nequam iis agitatæ diutius nullo cum fructu quæstiunculæ vituperii labem aspergant. Eamus itaque quo vocat propensa in nos optimæ Principis voluntas; populi etiam vox et magnatum favor. Absit, ut quæ in rem nostram sint, nos soli non videamus! Absit, ut hoc ultra a malevolis dici possit, citius inter cæteros omnes tolli diffidia, quam inter pacis Evangelicæ nuntios et præcones! Absit denique et cum in Senatu tantâ sit bonorum omnium consensio, in Synodo adhuc gliscat discordia *.

Hæc

* Dr. Atterbury is said to have been one of the associates with Swift in the early period of "The Examiner." No particular number of that work can, with any certainty, be assigned to him; but there is great reason to think he furnished at least the hints for the following paragraph:

"The Queen having changed her Ministry suitable to her own wisdom, and the wishes of her subjects, and having

Hæc te, venerande Præses, quique tibi assident pro tribunali Patres admodum reverendos jamdudum meditari, hæc sentire planè mihi persuadeo; hæc eadem assentire Fratres meos, vobis ego (tanquam consiliis rerum jam nunc præesset) fideliter spondeo.

“called a free Parliament, and at the same time summoned
“the Convocation by her Royal writ, as in all times had
“been accustomed; and, soon after their meeting, sent a
“most gracious letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to
“be communicated to the Bishops and Clergy of his Pro-
“vince; taking notice of ‘the loose and profane principles,
“which had been openly scattered and propagated among
“her subjects; that the consultations of the Clergy were
“particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring
“attempts, for which her subjects from all parts of the
“kingdom have shewn their just abhorrence: she hopes the
“endeavours of the Clergy in this respect will not be unsuc-
“cessful; and, for her part, is ready to give them all fit
“encouragement to proceed in the dispatch of such business
“as properly belongs to them; and to grant them powers
“requisite to carry on so good a work:’ in conclusion,
“‘earnestly recommending to them to avoid disputes; and
“determining to do all that in her lies to compose and extin-
“guish them.’ It is to be hoped that this last part of her Ma-
“jesty’s letter will be the first she will please to execute; for, it
“seems, this very letter created the first dispute; the fact
“whereof is thus related: The Upper House having formed
“an address to the Queen, before they received her Majesty’s
“letter, sent both address and letter together to the Lower
“House, with a message, excusing their not mentioning the
“letter in the address, because this was formed before the
“other was received. The Lower House returned them with
“a desire, that an address might be formed with due regard
“and acknowledgements for the letter. After some diffi-
“culties, the same address was sent down again, with a
“clause inserted, making some short mention of the said
“letter. This the Lower House did not think sufficient,
“and sent it back again with the same request: whereupon the
“Archbishop, after a short consultation with some of his
“brethren, immediately adjourned the Convocation for a
“month; and no address at all was sent to the Queen.”

XVII. MESSAGE FROM THE LOWER HOUSE
OF CONVOCATION TO THE SPEAKER * OF
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Feb. 28, 1710-11.

IT was ordered by the Lower House of Convocation, That the Prolocutor, attended by Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Stanley, Archdeacon of London; Dr. Smalridge, Proctor for the Chapter of Lichfield; and Dr. Delaune, Proctor for the Diocese of Oxford, should wait upon Mr. Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, and impart to him the following message, agreed to by the said House *nemine contradicente*.

THO. ROUSE, *Actuar' Domus Infer' Convocationis*.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE Lower House of Convocation have, with great satisfaction, taken notice of an instruction given by the Honourable House of Commons to a Committee (appointed to examine a petition of the Minister and Churchwardens of Greenwich, praying relief for the rebuilding of that Church) to consider what Churches are wanting within the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof, and report the same to the House.

It was in our thoughts to have done what in us lay towards setting forward so pious a design; but we are glad to find ourselves happily prevented by the zeal of

* William Bromley, Esq. See p. 297.

that

that Honourable House; which, at the time that they placed you in the chair, gave us an earnest of their entire disposition to do every thing that might be for the honour and advantage of the Church of England.

We do, in the name of the whole Clergy of this Province, return our unanimous thanks to the Honourable the Commons, for this instance of the affectionate regard they have shewn to the welfare of the Established Church, and the common interest of Religion *.

MR.

* In consequence of this message, the Commons resolved, " That this House will receive all such informations as shall be offered to them from the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation, with relation to the want of Churches in the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof. Secondly; That this House will, in all matters immediately relating to Religion, and the welfare of the Established Church, have a particular regard to such applications as shall at any time be made to them from the Clergy in Convocation assembled, according to the antient usage, together with the Parliament."

On the 10th of March 1710-11, the Speaker acquainted the Commons, " That the day before, in the evening, Mr. Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation came to him, and, by their order, delivered to him a scheme of the number of Churches and Chapels, and Meeting-houses, within twenty-seven of those parishes in and near the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, where additional Churches were judged to be most wanted: together with a probable calculation of the number of families and souls within those several parishes, which they desired might be laid before this House:" And the title thereof being read, the said scheme was referred to the consideration of a Committee already appointed for that business.

March 20. A Reproof was sent from the Court to the Prolocutor, that it was taken ill he should put the Lower House upon applying elsewhere about the building of Churches; when this was a matter that the Queen had intimated herself willing to recommend to her Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER,

I am directed by the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation to signify their readiness to promote the work now in view, by imparting such lights as they are able to afford, in relation to the extreme want of Churches in and about these populous cities, under which we at present labour.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Prolocutor.

Upon which the former step was rectified, and an address of the Bishops and Clergy presented to the Queen, March 26, 1711, praying her Majesty to recommend to her Parliament the good work of building more Churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster.

March 27. A Message from her Majesty to the House of Commons, recommending the great and necessary work of building more Churches within the bills of Mortality, so much to the advantage of the Protestant Religion, and to the firmer establishment of the Church of England, according to an address she had received from the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury in Convocation assembled.

On the 6th of April the House of Commons resolved,
 “ That, in the several parishes in and about the suburbs of
 “ the cities of London and Westminster, fifty new churches
 “ are necessary to be erected, for the reception of all such as
 “ are of the communion of the Church of England, com-
 “ puting 4750 souls to each church.”

On the 3d of September, The following commissioners were appointed for building the Churches: Archbishops of Canterbury and York; Bishops of London, Bristol, Winchester, Durham, and Rochester; the Earls of Thanet, Anglesey, Rochester, and Dartmouth; the Lords Weymouth and Guernsey; Mr. Bromley the Speaker of the House of Commons; Robert Benson, Esq. Chancellor of the Exchequer; Dr. Atterbury Prolocutor, and Dean of Christ Church; with eight Doctors of Divinity; the Attorney and Solicitor-General; and twenty-one private Gentlemen.

XVIII. REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE
OF RELIGION; DRAWN UP BY A JOINT
COMMITTEE OF BOTH HOUSES OF CON-
VOCATION *, IN MARCH, 1710-11.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE, the Archbishop, the Bishops, and the Clergy
of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation
assembled, are deeply sensible of the many blessings and
advantages of your gracious and prosperous reign:
amongst which there is none that more affects us than
the tender care and concern shewn by your Majesty for

* The Convocation (as Bp. Burnet represents the story) having entered on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a Committee being appointed to draw up a Representation of the present State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured that the drawing up of this might be left to him. The Lower House, he adds, agreed to Atterbury's draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another Representation to be drawn. But it was not settled which of these two draughts should be made use of, or whether any Representation at all should be made to the Queen: Abel Boyer, in his "Memoirs of Queen Anne," speaking of this affair, tells us, "The leading men among the Clergy, especially those who sought after honour and preferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with the new Ministry, and to strengthen the House of Commons in all their hot proceedings. Among others, Dr. Atterbury had a deep share in this business, and led most of the Clergy by his pretended zeal for their interests." The Representation in question, though never presented, was yet printed and dispersed; and soon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intituled, "The Nation vindicated from the Aspersions cast on it in a late Pamphlet, intituled, 'A Representation of the Present State of Religion, &c.'"

the flourishing state of Religion, and the godly zeal you have expressed against the wicked practices of those who, by loose and prophane principles openly propagated among your subjects, have endeavoured to undermine and destroy it.

We are thankful to Almighty God, who hath put it into your Royal heart to repress these daring and impious attempts; and for that end to call upon your Clergy for their counsel and assistance.

It is, on many accounts, our duty to do the utmost that in us lies towards promoting so excellent a work. We have, therefore, applied ourselves with diligence to consider the matters to us referred; and do now, in obedience to your Royal commands, humbly lay before your Majesty,

A REPRESENTATION of the present State of Religion among us, with regard to the late excessive growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Prophaneness.

WE cannot, without unspeakable grief, reflect on that deluge of impiety and licentiousness which hath broke in upon us, and overspread the face of this Church and Kingdom, eminent in former times for purity of faith and sobriety of manners.

The source of these great evils, as far back as we have traced it, seems to have been, that long unnatural Rebellion which loosened all the bands of discipline and order, and overturned the goodly frame of our ecclesiastical and civil constitution.

The hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and variety of wild and monstrous errors, which abounded during those confusions,

sons, begat in the minds of men (too easily carried into extremes) a disregard for the very appearances of Religion, and ended in a spirit of downright Libertinism and Prophaneness, which hath ever since too much prevailed among us. It was indeed checked and kept under for a time by the legal restraints laid on the press, and by the just dread of Popery, which hung over our heads: but as soon as these fears were removed, and those restraints were taken off, it broke out with the greatest freedom and violence.

There have not been wanting, God be praised, the hearty endeavours of good men, to resist the growth of these spreading evils. Books have been written in defence of the fundamental truths, whether of Natural or Revealed Religion, with great clearness and strength of argument; the vain pleas of the several advocates for Infidelity have been particularly considered and refuted; societies have been formed, and funds of charity raised, for the propagation of our holy faith, for the pious education of poor children, and for the increase of Christian knowledge, by plain and useful discourses, distributed among the meaner sort with great variety and number. Authority hath often interposed for the countenancing these excellent designs, for withstanding the bold attempts, and preventing the farther increase of Irreligion and Prophaneness. To this end, royal injunctions and proclamations have issued, acts of Parliament have passed, prosecutions at law have been ordered, gracious speeches from the Throne have been made; and from thence such bright patterns of piety and virtue have shone forth as would, in any age less

profligate than this, have diffused their happy influence through all orders of men among us.

But it must be confessed, that all the endeavours which may hitherto have been used, by public or private persons, to stop the growth of this evil, have proved ineffectual. In the midst of such discouragements, Infidelity hath taken deep root, and, being cultivated with care, hath spread its branches wide, and shot up to an amazing height, and brought forth fruits in great abundance.

We forbear to wound your pious ears by a particular mention of those many blasphemous passages which have been published from the press. Nevertheless, in discharge of the trust reposed in us by your Majesty, we think ourselves obliged to lay before you some account of the various steps taken to undermine the foundations of Christianity, and to infect the minds of your people with Atheism, Deism, Heresy, and every pernicious and destructive error. We shall proceed afterwards to consider the dark and subtle methods by which this mystery of iniquity hath been carried on; to enquire into the causes which have chiefly and most immediately given birth to it, and into the consequences with which it has been attended; and then, in all humility, to propose such remedies as we think may be most effectual for the cure of it.

The dispute with our enemies of the Church of Rome (managed with so much honour and advantage to the Church of England) was no sooner happily ended, but other adversaries arose, who openly attacked the fundamental articles of the Catholick Faith, and scattered the

the poison of Arian and Socinian heresies through all the parts of this kingdom.

The doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead was then denied and scoffed at; the satisfaction made for the sins of mankind by the precious blood of Christ was renounced and exploded; the ancient Creeds of the Church were represented as unwarrantable impositions, and treated with terms of the utmost contumely and reproach. And the divulgers of these wicked errors and blasphemies proceeded with as little disguise and caution as if some new law had been made in their favour; notwithstanding that care had been taken, by those who passed the Act of Indulgence, expressly to exclude them from the benefit of it.

In defiance of this act, and of all the laws then in force, they not only owned their pestilent errors, but set up for making proselytes, by a multitude of wicked books and pamphlets, which for some years they dispersed from the press, without controul or discouragement.

They at last proceeded so far as even to set up a Religious Assembly, where divine worship was publicly performed in a way agreeable to the principles of the Unitarians, and weekly sermons were preached in defence of them.

Nor have these Hereticks been withheld by the public notice lately taken of their wicked position, from venting them anew, and with yet greater boldness. Even at the time when we are thus met by your Majesty's writ, and exhorted by your gracious letter, to consult of methods for repressing such impieties, a book hath

been printed, wherein the Arian doctrine is avowed and maintained, and a promise is made of evincing the truth of it, by large and elaborate proofs, in other treatises from the same hand, which are soon to follow. To this book the Author * hath prefixed his name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of this Province in Convocation assembled; being, as we have some reason to believe, supported in this undertaking, and encouraged to prosecute it, by the liberal contributions and insidious applauses of those who are the determined enemies of all Religion and goodness.

It was by such men as these that the Socinian tracts, when first published, were much countenanced and recommended: for they well knew that, the chief articles of the Christian faith being once shaken, a way would by that means be opened, and the minds of men prepared, for the attacks which might afterwards be made on Christianity itself, and into which the Socinian controversy soon was improved.

For the books written in an argumentative way against the Divinity of our blessed Lord did, in a little time, produce others of a worse spirit and tendency; wherein the doctrines by him revealed were spoken of with profane levity and contempt, his humiliation and sufferings were derided, his person was blasphemed, and treated with as great indignity and scorn as when he stood at the judgment-seat of Pilate.

The Godhead of the Holy Spirit being first denied, all supernatural operations on the hearts of men were

* Mr. Whiston.

after-

afterwards questioned, and the grace of God was ridiculed; all mysteries in Religion were exploded, as absurd and useless speculations, as implying contradictions, and meaning nothing, and therefore as incapable of becoming objects of assent to reasonable minds.

The scheme of morality proposed by the Gospel was undervalued, and said not to be beyond the reach of human invention; the Mosaic account of the Creation was represented as mere allegory and fable; the natural immortality of the soul was opposed, as a vulgar and groundless error; the inspiration of Holy Writ was so explained as amounted to the denial of it; the authority of the present canon of Scripture hath been represented as standing upon a very precarious foundation; the spuriousness of several passages, and some books of it, was more than insinuated. Priests without distinction were traduced as imposers on the credulity of mankind, vilified and insulted as the filth and off-scouring of all things; and those Religious ordinances which they were appointed to dispense, even the chief of them, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, were spoken of with such a degree of ungodly mockery and insolent scorn, as filled the hearts of good Christians with horror and astonishment. Nay, Religion itself was, in some of their loose writings, so described, as if it were nothing but a melancholy frenzy and pious enthusiasm.

The grounds of believing the Gospel in this age have been represented as less firm and certain by a pretended calculation of the degrees according to which the credibility of the traditional facts related in Scripture must every age decrease. The necessity of all human thoughts
and

and actions, as being meer modes of motion, and the results of pure mechanism, hath been asserted: an assertion which overturns the foundations of all Religion, whether natural or instituted; and renders all notions of good and evil, of reward and punishment, whether in this life or the next, groundless and vain.

Nor ought we, among the several instances of Infidelity, and of the approaches made towards it, to omit the mention of those damnable errors which have been embraced and propagated by the sect of Quakers; who, in several of their treatises, in their Catechisms and Primers, have taught the rudiments of the Christian Faith in such a manner, as to make it seem to be little more than a complicated system of Deism and Enthusiasm.

From the wicked principles thus disseminated as wicked practices have followed: for though it may with truth be affirmed, that the good Christians among us were never better than now; yet can it not withal be denied, that the bad were never worse; and that the instances of a profane and dissolute behaviour have of late years been very numerous and very scandalous.

The frequency of oaths and imprecations, the manifest growth of Immorality and Profaneness, have made new laws, new edicts, necessary to restrain these enormities, which yet have not been effectually restrained by them.

Seldom hath greater vigilance been used by the Civil Magistrate to secure a Religious observance of the Lord's-day; nor hath it, among the meaner sort, proved unsuccessful. However it hath not banished excess and
luxury

luxury at such times from the tables of the great, nor hindered them from wasting those sacred hours in play and vain amusements.

The excesses of gaming have never been more general and flagrant; conscience hath never been more openly prostituted to interest, without any regard to censure; the extremes of avarice and profusion have never, at the same point of time, been more remarkably prevalent.

A due regard to religious persons, places, and things, hath scarce in any age been more wanting. The ministers of Christ have often been treated in a way very unsuitable to their sacred function and character; horrid outrages have been committed by loose and disorderly persons in the House of God; the solemn Feasts and Humiliations of the Church have been matter of sport to lewd and godless men, who have taken pleasure in ridiculing them, and affronting the authority by which they were appointed; unnatural and abominable impurities, not to be named among Christians, have been publicly practised; and the debauches of licentious men have been indulged to such a height, as to end in all manner of Blasphemy and Profaneness.

This sad harvest we have reaped from those seeds of Infidelity which the enemy have sown among us: with what industry and zeal, by what dark and subtle methods, this mystery of iniquity hath been carried on, we beg leave in the next place to represent.

That contributions have been made, that combinations of men have been formed, for promoting the cause of Infidelity, we have heard; nor do we doubt the
truth

truth of those reports; having observed, that late measures taken to advance Irreligion have been, in many respects, so uniform and regular, that they seem to have been concerted; not to have sprung merely from the casual contradiction and divided efforts of particular persons, but rather to have been the result of united counsels and endeavours.

Thus we are sure, the Socinians and Quakers took care of the interests of their several sects, and spread their distinguishing tenets; nor do the present factors for Infidelity and Libertinism appear to be either less zealous for the attaining their end, or less skilful in the choice and application of the means that lead to it.

The methods they have pitched upon to this purpose have been various; some of them such as had a more immediate tendency to the point they aimed at, others that were covered with very artificial pretences and disguises.

By mock Catechisms, framed in a light manner, upon vain and trifling subjects, they have endeavoured to depreciate those excellent summaries of the Christian Faith, by which a right sense of religious truths is first instilled into the minds of children.

They have republished, and collected into volumes, pieces written long ago on the side of Infidelity; which would have lain altogether neglected and forgotten without such a revival.

They have reprinted together, in the most contracted manner, many loose and licentious poems, in order to their being purchased more cheaply, and dispersed more easily; and have by that means conveyed the infection

to great numbers of men, who would otherwise have lain without the reach of it.

They have procured abstracts and commendations of their own profane writings (and probably drawn up by themselves) to be inserted in Foreign Journals; and then have translated them back again into the English tongue, and published them here at home, in order to add the greater weight to their wicked opinions.

They have endeavoured utterly to root out of men's minds all notion of a Church, as a society instituted by Christ, with peculiar powers and privileges, and officers of its own to administer the affairs of it. They have done their utmost to blend and confound this Spiritual society with the Temporal, on purpose to make every thing in Religion, its divine truths, and most sacred ordinances, dependant on the will of the Civil Magistrate, deriving solely from him their sanction and authority.

And of all Churches, our own is that against which they have planted their chief batteries, and directed their fiercest assaults; not as judging it more faulty than others (for they themselves allow it to be the least exceptionable of any); but as knowing it to be the strongest fence and bulwark against Infidelity, the principal pillar and stay of pure undefiled Religion.

They have therefore charged the authentic Articles of this Church, and the English editions of the Bible, with pious frauds and forgery; that men might be taught gradually to withdraw the reverence due to their spiritual guides, and of course to suspect whatever comes recommended from their hands.

As to other sects and denominations of Christians differing from the Established Church, and now tolerated among us, the crew of Libertine writers hath been observed to pursue them with a degree of malice and bitterness, proportioned always to the degrees of tendency which their respective principles have to support and strengthen the interests of Religion, by uniting large numbers of Christians in National Churches and Communions.

Sometimes, by displaying the cheats and impositions of Pagan and Popish priests, they have endeavoured to draw infamy on the Priesthood in general, and to render the order itself, in what Religion soever it was found, equally the object of public aversion and contempt.

At other times, when wild pretences to inspiration and miracles have been set up by modern impostors, they have seemed to countenance the fraud, and give credit to it; with a view of drawing parallels from thence, to the prejudice of real Inspirations and Miracles.

They have, in a grave and solemn manner, recounted the fabulous relations of miracles occurring in Heathen Writers: they have represented these accounts as carrying some of the chief marks and signatures of truth; and easier to be condemned than disproved, upon the foot of the arguments urged in behalf of the truth of Christianity.

They have, with ostentation, enumerated the several spurious treatises forged in the earliest ages of the Church; which they represent as times of great fraud and imposture on the one hand, of great ignorance and

cre-

credulity on the other ; and they have left this reflection to be applied by their readers to the Books of the New Testament, and the Authors of them.

The promises of Scripture have, by one of these Writers, been interpreted in such an extravagant and absurd sense, as was intended to render them uncertain and unintelligible ; and a plea hath been advanced in behalf of the privilege of being translated to Heaven without dying, according to the terms of the Covenant of Grace, with a design to insinuate, that our title to the other privileges and promises of the Gospel is founded on no surer a bottom.

Under the cover of accounting for the growth of Deism, and specifying the causes of it, they have taken occasion to suggest all those bitter and spiteful reflections which they thought might redound to the dishonour of our holy Religion, and wound it through the sides of its professed servants and followers.

Their received maxim is, “ that no good is to be expected from Ecclesiasticks, but by their divisions ;” and therefore, if differences happen at any time to arise among the Clergy, their constant practice hath been to foment and inflame them, by turning advocates for the one side against the other ; whereas, in truth, they themselves were alike enemies to both, and were also in like manner detested by both of them.

When particular and unwarrantable opinions have at any time been maintained by men otherwise eminent for piety and learning, the friends of Infidelity have not failed to lay hold of that opportunity, and improve it to the prejudice of Religion. Those very persons, whose

whose learned labours in defence of our common Faith they had before undervalued, and held in the utmost contempt, they began now to extol, and pretended to revere for the sake of their errors; their deep judgment they admired, their integrity they magnified, and appealed to their authority as decisive in favour of a paradox, when they would have refused to be concluded by it in any other point whatsoever.

We pretend not to have made a full discovery of all the dark and subtle wiles by which the instruments of Satan have endeavoured to establish his kingdom, and to introduce a general looseness of principles and practice among us: but these, which we have now laid before your Majesty, are too obvious and manifest not to be observed and complained of by us.

However, neither these, nor any other wicked arts and methods, how craftily soever contrived, and how industriously soever pursued, would have met with so remarkable success, had not other causes and circumstances concurred to help forward the event, and favour the growth of irreligious opinions.

Among the chief of these, we reckon the removal of that restraint which the wisdom of former times had laid upon the press; and which no sooner ceased, than those pernicious principles, that before had been whispered only in corners among the dissolute and lawless, were now proclaimed in our streets, and sent abroad to pollute the minds of your Majesty's subjects in all parts of your dominions.

The meanest and most ignorant of the people, who had any degree of curiosity and leisure, were then tempted to employ it in searches for which they were

no ways qualified; they were furnished every day from the press with objections against Religion; and taught to doubt of those truths, which it had otherwise never once entered into their hearts to question.

This general liberty of the press happened not long after the time when, by reason of confusions and disorders that usually attend great changes of state, the reins of Government were unavoidably slackened, and parties of men were suffered to express their mutual resentments, and manage their debates against each other, with a freedom not often permitted or practised in more quiet or settled times. Mean while, the indulgence granted to men, of worshipping God in their own way, incited some publicly, and with warmth, to espouse those religious opinions, which others thought themselves bound, with equal warmth, to oppose. These contentions in matters of a civil and sacred nature bred in the minds of men, not well grounded in true principles, great perplexities and doubts; and gave an opportunity to those who "sat in the seat of the scornful," to promote the interests of Scepticism and Infidelity, by making sport with our divisions.

The licentiousness of the Stage is another fountain from whence the present corruptions of Religion and Morality have flowed. On our Theatres things sacred and serious have been handled after the most ludicrous manner; the Priesthood, the Holy Offices and Ceremonies of our Church, have been exposed to scorn; obscenity, blasphemous allusions to Holy Writ, and various sorts of profaneness, have abounded: the worst examples have been placed in the best lights, and re-

commended to imitation; and the vicious images thus painted to the life, and set out with all manner of advantage, have made such impressions on the minds of the young and the unwary as are not easy to be effaced.

For the better diffusing the infection, new Theatres have been raised; and, at the opening of them (an expensive and magnificent structure) the building of Churches was impiously derided as a vain and useless work, the effect only of Superstition and Ignorance.

God be thanked, at that very time a different spirit prevailed; and great sums of money were by public authority provided, and applied for the building, supporting, and adorning of Churches: and we cannot but hope but this glorious work, which your Majesty, at our humble request, was graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament; in the advancement of which the zeal of your Parliament, influenced by that of your Majesty, hath already made so great a progress *, will be speedily accomplished by an ample provision for the wants of that kind, under which the inhabitants of these two populous cities have hitherto laboured. They have now, for a long track of time, year after year, exceedingly increased, without a proportionable increase of the Churches and Chapels appointed to receive them: by which means vast numbers of souls have been excluded from a possibility of attending on the public worship of God, and from all the benefits of Christian instruction. And the natural consequence of this hath been a gradual defection from Piety and

* See p. 306.

Virtue; to irreligious Ignorance and all manner of loose and licentious living.

To the increase of which they also contributed, who took occasion, from the relaxation of those laws which made absence from the Established Church penal, to withdraw themselves entirely from all religious assemblies; although that very act of exemption, which gave liberty in the one respect, equally restrained it in the other.

Nor hath the long continuance of that just and necessary war, in which your Majesty is now engaged (and which we trust God will enable you to finish as gloriously as you have hitherto carried it on) been unattended with consequences prejudicial to the interests of Religion and Goodness.

That this might not be our own case, your Majesty was pleased to use your powerful influences with the States of Holland, and to employ your royal bounty for the building of a Church, in which your subjects might serve God abroad with the same decency and order as at home, and be instructed in such religious principles as might preserve them from the contagion of those vices to which a military life is too much exposed. But notwithstanding this design piously is intended by your Majesty, and so readily promoted by the liberal contributions of your subjects in the Army, we cannot but lament that foreign vices, too easily learnt in the Camp, have from thence spread themselves, by little and little, through the several ranks of men at home, and occasioned a visible increase of Luxury, Libertinism, and Profaneness. False notions of Honour have made

that reputable, which the Religion of Christ utterly condemns; and that infamous, which it commands under the highest penalties: so that they who still dare to own themselves Christians, by not sending a challenge when affronted, or not accepting it when sent, are really in a state of persecution, on the account of their strict adherence to Christ and his doctrine. The prevalence of such principles and practices doth, in our humble opinion, tend not only to the dishonour, but even to the disbelief of the Gospel, among those who are either persuaded that it is lawful and laudable, or, without such a persuasion, determined to act in contradiction to the plain precepts of it.

The emissaries from Rome have not been wanting to lay hold of this opportunity for the advancement of their cause; to which nothing is so serviceable as scepticism and looseness of life: and these, therefore, they have always encouraged to the best of their power. They have swarmed in our streets of late years, and have been very busy in making converts: and, since their known way of dealing in such cases is to bring men round to Infallibility by the way of Infidelity, we doubt not but their subtle arts and restless endeavours of this kind may be reckoned one cause of the present growth of Irreligion among us.

Other causes have also concurred: as, the want of a vigorous execution of those laws, proclamations, and injunctions, which were piously framed; and the faint and ineffectual prosecution of some notorious offenders; by which means, what was designed to curb and restrain
their

their insolence, tended rather to heighten and nourish it.

Nor are we insensible how much Religion hath suffered by vain pretences to fathom those depths of Divine Wisdom which are unsearchable, and to advance nice explications of mysteries which are inexplicable; by the misapplication of mathematical reasoning to matters of mere revelation; by the attempts made to shew how all the steps taken in that great work of Omnipotence, the creation of the world, were to be accounted for by the known laws of Motion; and that the destruction of it by the Deluge might in like manner be explained; for the tendency of such attempts hath been, to confine the thoughts of men to second causes, and to intimate how little the wisdom of God was concerned in making the world.

But these, and such causes as these, having a less general and discernible influence towards producing the evils complained of; we have chosen rather to rest in the consideration of those which are more extensive and apparent, and have been remarkably fruitful of the ill consequences which we are next to lay before your Majesty.

The dishonour which the late excessive growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness, hath brought on our holy Faith, our Church and Nation, is too great to be disregarded, and too manifest to be dissembled. The Gospel cannot but be blemished by this reflection, that at a time when the strongest evidences of its Divine Original have been produced, and set in the fairest light, so many should revolt from it. Our Ecclesiastical

and Civil Constitution must needs undergo reproach; as if we either wanted laws to punish such enormities, or zeal to turn the edge of those laws upon daring offenders.

It is lamentable to reflect how many souls have been lost, by imbibing wicked doctrines from those books which have been scattered for several years with impunity through this kingdom; how many more are endangered, by too near approaches towards Infidelity, though they have not as yet actually arrived to it; what a spirit of indifferency and neutrality in Religion hath been infused through such vehicles into the minds of men, and hath at last so far prevailed as to become the distinguishing character of the age we live in.

We doubt not but that divers of your Majesty's subjects, either by the scandal arising from the late observable growth of Profaneness, or by sharing the contagion of it, have at last been perverted to Popery; and we are sure that many of them have been made worse men and worse subjects by the means of it; for Infidelity, where embraced, cancels all the strongest obligations of duty, and dissolves those religious bands of obedience by which the thrones of Princes are best secured, and their authority most firmly supported: and therefore we cannot but observe to your Majesty, that they who derided Churches, and Creeds, and Mysteries, were the same who insulted the memory, and justified the murder, of the Royal Martyr; applauded the rebellion raised against him, and have taken a great deal of wicked pains in collecting and publishing

publishing the works of those Writers who were the most declared and irreconcilable enemies to Monarchy.

But the worst consequences of our impieties is, that they have made us obnoxious to the displeasure of Almighty God; who may justly, on their account, be provoked to visit us with his severest judgements, by stopping the continued current of success with which he hath hitherto blessed our affairs, and delivering us into the hands of our enemies, by withdrawing the pure light of his Gospel from us, and letting in the abominations of Popery among us.

Our only comfort under this sad prospect is, that, as far and wide as the infection hath spread, there are many still left, who continue untainted by it; many who, imitating the pious example set by your Majesty, "hold fast the profession of their Faith, without wavering," and adorn it with all manner of Christian Graces and Virtues, in the midst of a perverse and crooked generation: for the mighty growth of Infidelity hath been attended with one good consequence, among divers ill ones; that the zeal of devout persons hath thereby been excited to do every thing that in them lay towards resisting and stemming this torrent of impiety. Nor have their endeavours been fruitless; our eyes daily see the public and happy effects of them: Divine Service and Sacraments have of late been oftener celebrated, and better frequented, than formerly; the catechising of youth hath been more generally practised, and with greater success; vast sums have been furnished by private contributors, to sustain the charge of educating poor children in a pious and useful manner; and

many other new and noble institutions of charity have been set on foot, of which some mention was made in the entrance of the account now laid before your Majesty.

Of these we already feel the good influence, and hope that they may hereafter prove a remedy equal to the disease under which we labour. In the mean time, other methods of redressing these great mischiefs may, we humbly conceive, be successfully tried; such as the course of the foregoing reflections, and your Majesty's great wisdom and piety, have already suggested to you. We entertain not the least doubt of your Majesty's firm resolution to render the laws and edicts, set forth for the suppression of Immorality and Profaneness, useful to that purpose, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the corruptions of the Stage, which have been so instrumental in vitiating young and innocent minds, and have given matter of so just offence to all serious and devout Christians. And we promise ourselves, from the happy application of these remedies, which your Majesty alone is able (and not more able than willing) to apply, great and durable effects.

We are entirely persuaded that your Majesty will in the most effectual manner discountenance all such persons as are profligate in their lives, or the known abettors or spreaders of impious opinions, by excluding them from all marks of your Royal favour; and the repeated assurances which your Majesty (whom God long preserve!) hath been pleased to give to your people, of your care to transmit the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line, as established by law, give us great hopes that our enemies of the Romish Communion will at last be effectually discouraged from attempting

attempting the ruin of that excellent Church, of which, under Christ, your Majesty is the chief Governor and glorious Defender.

With inexpressible satisfaction we reflect upon the noble provision made by the present Parliament for Fifty New Churches: and we please ourselves with a prospect of the ground which will every day be gained by this means upon Vice and Irreligion; when all excuses for non-attendance on the public worship will be removed, and the law, which makes those who abstain from all sorts of religious assemblies still obnoxious to punishment, may be exerted in its utmost force, without giving just occasion of complaint to any man.

Nor are we without hope that these our Synodical Assemblies, regularly and constantly held, may be one useful means of checking the attempts of profane men, and preventing the growth of pernicious errors; especially if, by the authority or intervention of such Synods, some way might be found to restore the discipline of the Church, now too much relaxed and decayed, to its pristine life and vigour; and to strengthen the ordinary jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts, now too much restrained and enfeebled; both which ends, as far as they shall appear to be subservient to the interests of Religion and Virtue, and no ways to interfere with the laws and liberties of our country, we do not, under the propitious influence of your Majesty's Administration, despair of attaining.

But that for which we at present in most earnest and most humble manner address ourselves to your Majesty
is,

is, that, by your Royal interposition, an act may be obtained for restraining the present excessive and scandalous liberty of printing wicked books at home, or importing the like from abroad, in such manner as to the wisdom of your Majesty and your Parliament shall seem most expedient: for, as we take this to have been the chief source and cause of these evils whereof we now complain; so we question not but that the removal of it would be the most speedy and effectual cure of them.

Our daily and fervent prayer to God is, that your Majesty may be the happy instrument of these and many other blessings to this Church and State; that you may be as prosperous in your designs against Infidelity and Vice here at home, as you have been in all your undertakings against the common enemy abroad; and may by that means add what alone is wanting to complete the glory, and crown the successes, of your ever-memorable reign!

* * * On the 24th of June was published a Pamphlet, intitled, "Some Thoughts on the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation, in a Letter to the Reverend Dr. Atterbury, Prolocutor, 1711," 8vo.

XIX. DR. ATTERBURY'S SPEECH AT OXFORD,
ON THE DAY OF HIS ADMISSION TO
THE DEANRY OF CHRIST-CHURCH *.

GRATISSIMUS est mihi, Juvenis eximie, tuus in atrii hujusce vestibulo occurfus, gratiffima oratio; quâ non tam me, quàm ædem hanc, quæ bonorum femper ingeniorum nutrix habita eft, ornari gaudeo. Facile adducor et credam, cæteros qui tuæ ætati fup- pares funt, alumnos, tibi effe quam fimillimos. Ea fi me haud fefellerit fpes, vos ego viciffim omnia quæcun- que a me proficifci poterint ftudiorum veftrorum horta- menta ac præmia, fidenter fperare jubeo.

Eò mihi jucundior eft tua, tuorumque, leftiffime Baccalauree, fodalium gratulatio, quod ab iis profecta fit, quorum jam ad maturitatem quandam adolefcunt ingenia, præceptis inftitutifque philofophiæ, ac multi- plici doctinarum genere, aucta atque exulta. Utinam is effem omnino quem, te auctore, ab illis me haberi intelligo! Is certè fum, qui literatam juventutem ad optima quæque feliciter nitentem fumma cum voluptate intueri foleam, quique adeo crefcenti indies veftri or- dinis laudi impensè faveam. Multa de mirifico veftro erga artes reconditas amore, de laudabili ftudiorum curfu, ac progreflione difcendi, a viro optimo, ædis hujusce Sub-decano digniffimo, me auditurum confido, cujus quidem vigilantia atque induftriæ fiqua etiam a

* He was appointed to this Deanry Aug. 27, 1711.

nobis subsidia possint offerri, habebit ille me curarum suarum omnium ac consiliorum socium, et non inertem, ubi opus est, adiutorem.

Parem te quidem muneri illi tuo, quod jam per annos aliquot sustinuisi, facundissime Rhetorices Prælector, ostendis, cum exile nactus argumentum uberrimâ id verborum copiâ, summâ eloquentiæ vi auges atque amplificas. Quantum ab his absim laudibus, et egomet mihi satis sum conscius, et te, utcunque de me magnifica prædicantem, minimè latet. Sed tu quâ mente, quâ modestiâ es, quùm apertis mecum monitis agendum esse non existimes, ad illa artis tuæ præcepta decurris, quæ hortationem tunc optimè institui alunt, eum cum laudes, quem cohortere. Si quis itaque, tuo hoc dicendi artificio deceptus, meas esse putet, quæ à te percensentur, virtutes, mea quæ celebrantur præconia, nolo illum in tanto errore versari; alia tibi erat ratio, aliud longè consilium, ut tuo scilicet dum fungereris officio, mihi interim meum subindicares, et in id totus incumberes, ut intelligant qui te perorantem audiunt, non quis ego sim, sed cujusmodi is esse debeat, qui florentissimæ huic ædi cum dignitate præsideat, qui tam numeroso aut doctorum aut discentium gregi custos admotus, tuendæ religioni, excolendis moribus, literis promovendis ritè invigilet. Arduum sanè opus! cui tamen proficiendo in promptu erant quæ sumpseris. Jam enim in uniuscujusque nostrum animis inhæret excellentium virorum, qui me in hoc munere præiverint, memoria, quam quidem studiosè recolenti facilè tibi erat ea exinde omnia delibare quæcunque ad exprimendam perpoliendamque viri summi et scientissimi rectoris imaginem pertinerent.

Utcunque me de implendâ hâc quæ mihi obtigît provinciâ cogitantem, measque vires æstimantem, subortus illicò conturbet metus, obruat pudor; nunquam tamen animo sum demissiore, nunquam mihi magis displiceo, quam cum Fellum et Aldricium, duo illa reipublicæ nostræ literariæ lumina, mente contempler. Quis enim non jure reformidaverit illorum vestigiis insistere; qui optimis naturæ donis præditi, magnâ artium varietate instructi, longo rerum academicarum usu exercitati, ædem hanc nunquam gloriæ expertem, nunquam non doctrinæ laude illustrem, ad summum splendoris atque amplitudinis fastigium perduxere?

Inerat utrique literarum flagrans studium, propensissima in liberalium artium cultores voluntas; inerat eximius ingenii candor, omnia quæ aliquam boni speciem præ se ferent amplectentis; omnia de quibus ambigi possit, in mitiorem semper partem interpretantis; inerat eximius, liber, excelsus animus; nullâ divitiarum, nullâ honorum cupiditate correptus, rei privatæ negligens, ad publicam unicè attentus. Nemo unquam familiam suam ardentius dilexit, benignius fovit, quam eorum uterque hanc domum; nemini unquam sua carior erat patria, quam illis hæc academia. Rem typographicam suo labore, suis sumptibus augere, nostra hæc mœnia instaurare, condere, id iis curæ semper, id voluptati fuit; his cogitationibus, his studiis occupati vixere, his etiam ne quidem ad extremum vitæ spiritum intermissis, sunt immortui.

Nota vobis ac perspecta penitus loquor; quæ tamen in aûribus atque in oculis vestris utcunque hæreant infixa, juvat usque repetere atque ipsâ hominum omni laude

lande præstantium jucundissima recordatione mentem pascere ac conformare*. Nunquam mihi aut vobis excidet ex animis viri illius humanissimi atque optimi imago, cujus morte, tanquam parente suo orbata, jam luctu ac mœrore jacuit hæc domus. Faxit Deus, ut adventu tandem meo, aliquâ ex parte aliquando refici potest, ac recreari! Nihil illi defuit, quod ad literas promovendas atque ornandas cuiquam unquam mortaliū indulgit natura; nihil, quod eorum quibus præfuit, aut amorem, aut admirationem possit excitare. Quæ illi mentis acies, quæ vis, quæ volubilitas, in omnes omnigenæ doctrinæ partes celerrimè se versantis, in quamcunque scientiæ oram delata esset, nusquam rudis, nusquam hospitis! Quicquid in arte aliquâ elaboratum proferret, quicquid moliretur, aut investigaret, ad id illum, quod quidem ageret, agendum unicè natum esse diceres, in eo omnem operam suam atque ætatem contrivisse. Seu studia graviora persequeretur, seu levibus se oblectaret, seu res humanas seu divinas susciperet tractandas; an his, an illis aptior esset atque accommodatior, multum dubitares. Jam vero in aditu atque sermone, in otio, in negotiis, quæ illi morum facilitas, quam simplex et

* For "conformare" we ought perhaps to read, "confirmare." In this sense, "it is a satisfaction to me to *delight* and to *strengthen* my own mind (*mentem pascere et confirmare*) even by the pleasing reflection on the memory of men so eminent in every kind of merit." But "to please and to *form* my own mind (*mentem conformare*) to the arduous task of presiding over a house so long and so justly famed as the principal seat of literature in the university," is far from being an *improper* idea; and may possibly be the *very one* intended by the learned Dean.—I owe this ingenious remark to my late excellent friend Mr. Kynaston.

aperta mens! quæ in vitâ integritas, in verbis fides! quæ frontis modestia, quæ oris dignitas? His ille naturæ muneribus ornatus, quod in percipiendis severioribus disciplinis, asperum plerumque et triste visum est, miro quodam lepore solitus est mitigare, ita ut tyronum animos non præceptis solum aut hortationibus, sed vultu ipso atque congressu, ad amorem literarum, ad omnem humanitatis laudem fingeret atque erudiret.

Multa in hoc viro admiranda erant, multa præclara; nihil tamen præclarius, quàm quod beatissimi Felli memoriam singulari quodam cultu ac veneratione semper prosequeretur, quod illum tanquam certissimum rerum pulchrè gerendarum ducem atque auctorem, optimum instituendæ regendæque juventutis magistrum, intermissæ apud nos luctuosissimis temporibus disciplinæ vindicem, hujus denique amplissimi domicilii statorem suspiceret semper ac prædicaret. Et sanè, ex quo veræ religioni bonisque literis, ad suas unde expulsæ sunt, sedes patuit reditus, quicquid artibus juvandis, aut pietati augendæ, quicquid in Reipublicæ aut Ecclesiæ usus contulerit hæc ædes, id omne ex sanctissimi illius Præsulis laboribus, curis, consiliis profluxit. Ab illo jacta sunt fundamenta laudum nostrarum; ab illo sparsa virtutis, industriæ, doctrinæ semina, quæ etiamnum vigent, quæque illo et superstiti et extincto in uberem multoties messem lætamque maturuere.

Hunc itaque alumnorum chorum, hanc domum Felli adhuc institutis florentem, quoties intueor, videre mihi videor celebrem illum agrum, diligenter consitum, quem Lysandro olim ostendit Cyrus; ubi mirari libet arborum (ut ita dicam) proceritates et ordines ritè dispositos,
humum

humum etiam subactam atque puram, et suavitatem odorum, qui quidem afflentur è floribus, potissimum vero diligentiam et solertiam ejus à quo sunt ista dimensa atque descripta. Felix ille noster agricola, cui fas erat cum Cyro dicere, “ Ego ista omnia sum dimensus, mei
“ sunt ordines, mea descriptio, multæ etiam istarum
“ arborum mea manu sunt factæ, et huic et alteri for-
“ tasse sæculo profuturæ!”

Mihi itaque qui in obeundo hoc mînere viris talibus tantisque (felicitate dicam, an fato quodam meo?) proximus succedam, quid restat, nisi ut earum, quibus inclaruerint, virtutum memoriâ, languentem me, diffidentem viribus meis erigam atque incendam, nisi ut optimis iisdem, quibus usus sum, dum viverent magistris, utar et mortuis, eorumque ad exemplum, quâ licet, quâ possim cunque viâ, me totum componam?

Magnis quidem illi atque eximiis quibusdam animi bonis hoc affecuti sunt, ut possent vobis insigniter prodesse. Istorum quàm nihil ad me pertineat, fatis intelligo. Unum tantummodo mihi ut cum illis commune existimetur contendo; benevolentiae, atque amoris incredibilis quædam vis, quâ in ædem hanc feror, quâ vos; vestrasque res omnes complector, et in quâ ne quidem ab ipsis illis antecessoribus meis (quibuscum nulla alia in re sum conferendus) superatum me iri confido.

XX. SPEECH OF DR. ATTERBURY, AS DEAN OF CHRIST-CHURCH, JAN. 2, 1711-12, WHEN HE PRESENTED THE LORD HARLEY, IN THE CONVOCATION AT OXFORD, TO THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS, AS AN HONORARY FAVOUR FROM THE UNIVERSITY *.

INSIGNISSIME VICE-CANCELLARIE, VOSQUE EGREGII
PROCURATORES !

PRÆSENTO vobis Juvenem hunc honoratissimum, et suis et paternis virtutibus illustrem: eâ indole præditum, quam togatis semper inesse optet Academia, iis dotibus instructum, quas sibi, rebusque suis subsidio mox futuras haud frustra speret Senatus; eo patre ortum, quem Academia, quem Senatus, quem Britannia omnis summa cum veneratione intuetur, pro communi civium salute magna molientem, et obluctantibus licet infensissimis patriæ hostibus jam præstiturum. Qui arduis reipublicæ negotiis intentus, colendis interim humaniorum artium studiis ita vacat, ita invigilat, ut illo duce atque auspice, nec literis unquam honos, nec literatis

* It was observed by the Whigs on this occasion, that in this fine speech Atterbury gave very high commendations of the son, and a more extraordinary encomium of the father; and seemed to foretel, that this ancient family was now restored to grandeur, for the restitution of peace and glory to this Church and Nation.

defutura sint præmia; qui publicis regni commodis sua semper posthabuit, ærarii regii administer providus, frugalis, proprii æris largitor, beneficus, liberalis; qui pari mentis ardore et in moderandis belli sumptibus et in promovendo pacis negotio se exercet; qui omni ope et opera enixè contendit ut res patriæ collapsas (quâ licet) restituat, impugnata Principis majestatem vindicet, totius Europæ incolumitatem stabiliat ac tueatur.

Hunc tanti viri filium, alteram patriæ spem, felicitate ingenii, propensissimo in literas animo, suavitate morum, vitæque integritate præcellentem, vobis, Academici, vestroque omnium favori, commendo. Nec fanè quidquam aut nostris rebus utilius, aut ineunti anno auspicius potest accidere, quam ut egregius hic Adolefcens, multis jam titulis ornatus, pluribus indies ornandus, magistrali gradu hodie insigniatur; et à vobis id ornamenti habeat, unde quocunque demum in dignitatis loco positus, cuicunque ordini admotus, se semper meminerit fuisse Vestrum.

XXI. BP. ATTERBURY'S VISITATION SPEECH
TO THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF
ROCHESTER, May, 1716.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

EVER since, by God's good Providence, and the favour of her late Majesty of ever dear and blessed memory, I was placed in this See, I have earnestly desired thus to meet my Clergy in Visitation: but my long and repeated indispositions, my necessary attendance on Parliament, and the unsettled state of public affairs, have till now prevented it.

I have been the less concerned on this account, because, my diocese being small (I thank God it is so, the smallest I believe in all England, and no part of it far distant from the place of my residence), I was able to inform myself pretty well of the true state of it, without actually visiting it; and one chief design of such Visitations being to enquire into the characters and conduct of the Clergy, I thought I might safely, for some time, defer such an enquiry, being satisfied that the Clergy over whom I preside are as honest, regular, and orthodox a body of men as any other in the kingdom. However, one circumstance there was which made this delay unwelcome to me, that it hindered me from knowing you personally, and being personally known to you, as early and as much as I wished to be; and confined my acquaintance chiefly to those of you who were either in my immediate neighbourhood, or had particular occa-

sions of applying themselves to me for the discharge of my Episcopal Functions.

I am now come to supply this defect; and hope that our knowledge of each other will tend to the mutual comfort and advantage of all, and give me every day more and more reason to bless God for placing me in a station so agreeable to me.

I verily believe, that you know very well what belongs to the pastoral care of your flocks, and are not backward to practise it; and yet I should be wanting in my duty, should I not take this opportunity of saying something to you concerning yours; and therefore I shall, in a very few words, tell you plainly my thoughts, and give you my advice and direction, in relation to some principal branches of your office, as Parochial Incumbents.

And the first thing (as it deserves in the first place to be recommended) I recommend to you, is the reading, or (when you have just reason so to do) procuring such as will read the public prayers, in a deliberate and distinct, a grave and fervent manner; which will imprint upon the minds of your people a veneration for our service, will enliven their attention, and raise their devotion, and edify them more, I am persuaded, than even a well-composed and pathetic Sermon. But this point has, by my honoured Predecessor *, on a like occasion, been set in so full and clear a light, and handled with such a force of godly eloquence, that all that any man can say on this head must fall short of what he has already said; and therefore I refer you to his inimitable

* Bp. Sprat. See vol. I. p. 468.

discourse on this subject, and desire you often and seriously to peruse it. Let me add only my earnest request, that you would, as much as in you lies, persuade your people to resort to public prayers on Litany-days and Holy-days, as well as Sundays. I know, in smaller villages and parishes, where the inhabitants live by their daily labour, it is difficult to procure a congregation at such times; and some Ministers, that have begun this good practice, have been discouraged from prosecuting it, by the want of numbers to join in the service. And yet I cannot but think that perseverance, and proper application to well-disposed persons, and the influence of a good example set by their own families, might at length attain the desired end in some places, where the Church is now altogether shut up for six days in the week, and the people settled in an opinion that their presence at public devotions is a duty only on Sundays.

It were well also that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper were administered in every parish (as it is, I hope, in most parishes of my diocese) oftener, much oftener, than on the three great Festivals; which might, methinks, be compassed, were the people once satisfied that such a solemn and rigorous preparation of themselves as some books of devotion prescribe (however commendable it may be) is not absolutely necessary towards a worthy reception of it, and that the short and plain directions given for this purpose in the Communion-office and Church Catechism are those by which every member of this Church should choose to be guided, and on which he may as safely rely as on the rules laid down by any private unauthorized (however pious

and well-meaning) Writer; and that there is no man so ignorant, or so employed, but that he may, if he will, and as often as he will, by the help of those directions, prepare himself to communicate worthily.

Having mentioned that short, comprehensive, and admirable summary of Christian doctrine the Church Catechism, I cannot but express to you my wishes that the teaching it to children, and explaining it publicly in the Church, were a work as grateful to Christian congregations as it is useful to Christianity; and that the Clergy might be allowed rather to employ themselves in discharging this task, than in composing Afternoon-sermons—a duty neither enjoined by the Rubrick nor by any Canon, and taken up chiefly from a custom begun in ill times, and for ill purposes; but which cannot now be laid aside, either with decency or prudence, in such populous places, especially where those of the Separation abound, and would draw away our people from the Church by the multitude of their Sermons.

However that may be, I must insist, that what is not required by the Constitution should not be practised in prejudice to what is; and therefore that the preaching of such Sermons should not intrench upon the important duty of catechising children; to which we in a great measure owe the continuance of sincere piety and sound principles among us: and therefore the late encouragers of Charity-schools * are never enough to be commended for their care and diligence on this head, by which they have deserved well of God and man, and have done the Church of England and the pure Religion of Christ

ex-

* See vol. II. p. 79.

excellent service : and verily they shall not fail of their reward.

Let me observe to you here what peculiar stress is laid upon the right discharge of this duty of catechising, and with what remarkable strictness and severity it is enforced by the sanction of the 59th Canon. I expect that that Canon should, if not in the letter, yet in the main intention and design of it, be carefully observed, particularly in Lent, and at such other times and seasons as the Minister in his discretion shall judge most proper for this work ; and that parents and masters of families should be frequently called upon to do their duty in that respect, by obliging their children and servants to attend his instructions, and to submit themselves to a public and solemn examination.

The administration of the Sacrament of Baptism (another important part of Parochial duty) is, you all know, never regularly performed in private, but when necessity requires ; and even then such Baptism must be certified, and compleated in public. A contrary custom hath crept, here and there, into larger towns, and been gradually established by such compliances with men of rank, distinction, and substance, as are no ways warranted by our Constitution, and have overborn the wise and godly orders of the Church in that behalf. I must desire you to do all that in you lies towards breaking through this ill custom, wherever it has in any degree obtained *.

As likewise another, no less absurd and unreasonable, of performing the office of thanksgiving for women

* See the Bishop's correspondence on this subject with Dean Stanhope, in vol. II. pp. 76—78.

after child-birth in private chambers; a practice which is not countenanced by any word in the Rubrick, or by any allowance there made for extraordinary cases, and is a contradiction to the very title as well as design of the office; and one would wonder therefore (if any thing in this age of disorder and confusion were to be wondered at) how it ever came to prevail. I know your endeavours to redress these abuses will be attended with difficulties, arising from the importunity of persons willing in this respect to be distinguished, from the pleas of common usage, ill health, and a regard to the tender age of infants, and from other less-justifiable views and considerations: but they are such difficulties as ought to be resisted, and may in time, by an inoffensive steadiness and prudence, and by a mind resolved to overlook lesser advantages, be totally vanquished: and perhaps the due government of those who find their account in such compliances will be the hardest part of the Incumbent's task in this case.

“*Obstet inolita consuetudo, sed meliori consuetudine vincetur: remurmurabit caro, sed fervore spiritus frænabitur.*” I choose to speak to you in the words used by Thomas à Kempis to another purpose: and leave them to be applied by you on this occasion, in such manner and measure as your Christian discretion and concern for the honour of the Church, and for the due administration of her Sacraments and Ceremonies, shall suggest. And I should not have said so much on this point, did I not think it a matter of some consequence, however it may have been neglected in places where Schism, Infidelity, and an irreligious Luke-warmness

warmness and Indifference have prevailed, and not only relaxed, but well nigh subverted, our discipline in all its branches.

The Visitation of the Sick is a matter of daily and obvious use, with which all who have the cure of souls must needs be well acquainted, especially where their flocks are large and numerous : and yet there is no part of the Incumbent's duty which requires greater degrees of spiritual skill, and of a certain holy dexterity and address in the discharge of it. To know how to deal aright with the consciences of decumbent dying sinners ; how to break their obstinacy, and soften them into contrition ; how to apply comfort or terror to them as there shall be occasion ; how to satisfy their doubts, or, if need be, cure their despair ; how to dispose some to works of mercy, others to forgiveness and restitution ; how to search their minds to the quick, make them willing to lay open their inward sores and blemishes, and by that means render them desirous and worthy of ghostly absolution ; how to speak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority, and yet with all humility and meekness, with all lenity and tenderness ; is a task that cannot be advantageously performed but by a man blessed with a serious and pious frame of spirit, well esteemed for gravity and sanctity of life, endued with natural prudence, ripened by experience, and competently acquainted with some of the most useful rules of Casuistical Divinity. And he who has this habitual skill and these qualifications will be capable of doing more good to his parishioners while he stands by their sick-beds, than perhaps he could ever do them from the pulpit while they were healthy

healthy and vigorous. The words of dying men are best remembered by their friends and relations; and the words of the Priest are most attended to by men that are dying, and make the deepest and most useful impressions upon them: and it has been known therefore, when a successful discharge of this part of the ministerial function upon sick men, who have afterwards recovered their health, hath given them such a sense of the good offices then done by their Minister, and such a reverence for his character, as has made them ever afterwards submissive to his advice, and consequently exemplary in their lives and conversations, and patterns of that regard which is due to the Clergy from those who are edified by their holy ministration.

As to the duty of Preaching, there is none that requires less to be given in charge to the Clergy, because there is none by which they more confessedly adorn their holy calling.

One thing only I shall say upon it, for the encouragement of those of the younger sort, who may have newly taken Holy Orders, and entered on Parochial Cures—that it is not so difficult a thing to be a good Preacher as some men imagine: there being nothing, in my opinion, necessary to it, but a thorough knowledge of the Scripture, a vital sense of Religion upon the heart, a desire of being useful to the congregation; and a fixed resolution of saying nothing from the pulpit, of which the Preacher himself is not clearly and fully convinced beforehand; and these attainments all lie within the reach of every honest good man, who has a competent share of natural understanding. He that is
well

well versed in Holy Writ, and to whom the phrase of it is familiar, will not fail of adding weight and authority to all he says; he that speaks from his own heart, will easily reach the hearts and consciences of those that hear him; he that studies only how to edify his people by plain instructive doctrine will be sure of being listened to with attention, respect, and love; and he who appears to be seriously persuaded of the truth of what he delivers, takes the best way in the world to persuade and convince others; the pious warmth he inwardly feels will animate and enliven his discourse, and raise some degrees of that holy flame in the breasts of his audience.

But enough of this argument, which I am sensible transports me too far, into a manner of speaking more proper for the pulpit, than for such an assembly on such an occasion. And therefore to return.

The plain thoughts I have offered to you, concerning some branches of Parochial Duty, will be best enforced by adding my hearty request to those of you who have a legal excuse, or just occasion, to be absent from your Cures, to supply them with such persons as will be sure every way to answer the great trust reposed in them.

Since I came to this Diocese, I know of no Curate nominated to me for my Licence, whom I have not had good reason to think well qualified for his work. I bless God for it! and doubt not but I shall find those (and many such there are) who have not applied themselves to me on that account, every way as fit and deserving. I shall pay great regard to the Letters Testimonial given them in this case by the Incumbent of the parish, and
by

by the neighbouring Clergy; and therefore may justly expect that you will all be, to the utmost degree, scrupulous in granting and signing such Testimonials; and am very desirous that, whenever you recommend any to me for Orders, Institution, or a Curacy, you would not content yourselves with the common forms, but would be express and particular in the characters of the persons, the time for which you have known them, and the salaries (if Curates) which you are willing to allow them. I hope no one will think it proper, for the future, to sit down in such a station, without my previous consent and approbation.

I expect the same personal applications to me by all such as now do, or shall hereafter, teach School in my Diocese: nor will any licence ever issue to the latter till they have passed my examination.

The spiritual part of your charge has, you see, so far taken up my thoughts and your time, that I have scarce room to add any thing about matters of a temporal concern; which, though of an inferior nature, are yet by no means to be overlooked.

However, two or three things of this kind; there are, which I shall mention, and which deserve to be considered by you.

The first of them is, that the old Canon, about the annual Perambulations of Parishes, may, as far as in you lies, be observed. I fear it has been generally neglected, and thought a matter of more trouble than consequence; but experience has shewn that such neglects have, in some places, been attended with great inconveniences to the Minister and to the People, with

re-

relation to their Parochial Rights and Boundaries; and therefore I could wish that this laudable custom were every where revived and continued.

The supporting your Parsonage and Vicarage houses by all necessary reparations, and preserving the timber that grows in your cemeteries or on your glebes, for that purpose, or for the repair of your Chancels, is another thing, which I cannot too earnestly recommend to you. You are obliged to it, in obedience to the laws both of Church and State, in gratitude to your Patrons, and in justice to your Successors: the honour of the Church, and the credit of your Order, require this at your hands, which are impaired and sullied by few things more than by scandalous dilapidations. Nor can any Incumbent, I think, with a good conscience, apply to his own use the profits of his living, till he has taken due care of the mansion allotted to him; which those revenues were designed to support in the first place, and the Incumbent himself afterwards. I speak not this by way of blame, but admonition; for I have not hitherto had opportunities of informing myself duly in such matters. But if God shall give me life and health, my purpose is to be an eye-witness myself of all such defects (if any such there be) within the several parishes of my Diocese.

I have yet one thing more to offer to you; in which I take the interest of the Church to be deeply concerned.

The 87th Canon directs the making and transmitting to the Bishop true Terriers. That task, when enjoined by authority, hath not always been performed with due
care

care and exactness, and hath proved a detriment sometimes, rather than an advantage to the livings concerned.

Wherever it is undertaken, it will be most usefully and effectually done if there be inserted in such Terriers not only the particulars required by that Canon (to which I refer you), but moreover accounts of all charitable gifts and bequests to the poor of the parish, to any school or hospital there, for the reparation of the Church, or the Minister's maintenance; of any composition or modus, and to what portion of lands, or species of tithes, such modus extends. These and sundry other particulars (not easy to be enumerated) should be specified in those accounts; and would the Incumbents (under the influence of any direction I should be glad to give for that purpose) procure such compleat States of the Rights and Revenues of this kind in their several parishes, and return them authentically vouched into my Registry, I would take care that they should not only there be preserved, but entered fairly in a book, to which their successors might always resort, and receive from thence proper lights and informations. This method well pursued would (I am satisfied) be one of the best and wisest steps that could be taken towards securing, in due time, the patrimony of the Church from all further illegal and sacrilegious encroachments.

But I must detain you no longer. The proper work of Visitation requires our attendance; and the ensuing Confirmation will take up much of our time. I depend upon it that care has been taken to offer no one to me to be confirmed, but who hath first been examined, or
whom

whom the Minister otherwise knows to be well qualified for that holy ordinance.

It remains, that I exhort both myself and you my Reverend Brethren, that we all do our duties faithfully, as in the sight of God, on this and on all other occasions. Let us make it the chief study and endeavour of our lives, "to work the work of Him that sent us," and to fulfil the high commission we have received from "the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls."

Let us "preach the word," and live answerably to what we preach—"Be instant in season and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart fearing God." Let us "watch in all things," and, if need be, "endure afflictions, do the work of Evangelists, make full proof of our ministry."

Let us behave ourselves in all the offices of our stations, and in all circumstances, discreetly indeed, warily, wisely; but withal courageously, zealously, firmly. Let us not be frightened from a resolute discharge of our duty, by any appearances of danger or difficulties; but go on in our way and in our works, though the sky should look louring over our heads, and the "face of the heavens" should "gather blackness!" He that thus "observeth the winds shall not sow," and he that thus "regardeth the clouds shall not reap."

Let us act as becomes us, in the present moment, and trust God with the event. His Providence and Protection will not be wanting to us, if we are not first wanting to ourselves. If we are exemplary in our
lives,

lives, and faithful to our deaths, in what is intrusted to us, our candlestick shall not be removed, nor our light extinguished: but "we of this Church," as sound and pure members of the Catholic Church of Christ, shall enjoy our share of his promise, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it!"

Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.

And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up; and, having established, strengthened, and settled you here, to give you an inheritance hereafter among all them which are sanctified.

XXII. BP. SMALRIDGE'S CHARGE TO THE
CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF BRISTOL,
AT HIS PRIMARY VISITATION, 1716.

REVEREND BRETHREN,

COULD my sincere and earnest entreaties have prevailed with our most gracious Queen, of glorious memory, to have excused me from accepting this Bishopric, the duties of which I then foresaw I should not be able to discharge in such a manner as I ought,
I should

I should not want your excuse now for not having made my Primary Visitation long before this time. I once purposed to have been with you in the first year of my consecration, but was then unhappily hindered by the death of our most excellent Sovereign; a death which can never be too much lamented by the true Sons or Fathers of this Church, whilst we at the same time acknowledge the goodness of God, in alleviating that loss by the peaceable accession of his present Majesty to the throne; which gave us a comfortable prospect of reaping the fruits of her late Majesty's pious care and unwearied endeavours to perpetuate to us and to our posterity the free exercise of our Holy Religion, and the quiet enjoyment of our Civil Rights, under an uninterrupted series of Protestant Successors.

The last year I was detained so long by my attendance upon Parliament, that though I did come amongst you, yet being not able soon enough to prefix the time of my coming, I could not then visit you in form.

I am now come to make those enquiries into the state of the Diocese, which may enable me to be more useful whilst I am necessarily absent, and may direct me in what manner, and upon what subjects, I may to the best advantage address myself to you at my next coming. At present I have nothing in particular to offer, because not being as yet sufficiently apprised what particulars, if any, are amiss, I know not what special remedies ought to be applied. For my better information, I have directed that the Churchwardens and other persons whom our Ecclesiastical Constitution hath made the grand inquest for the Diocese, should give me several and distinct

answers to the several interrogatories proposed to them. If they shall conscientiously discharge the trust which the Church has reposed in them; if they shall truly and faithfully, according to the best of their skill and knowledge, present such things and persons as are presentable; I will, by the grace of God, according to the solemn vow I made at my consecration, use that authority which I have by God's word, and which is committed to me by the ordinance of this realm, for the redress of such crimes, and the correction of such criminous persons. But if, as it too often cometh to pass, the Churchwardens and such others as are to take care for the suppression of sin and wickedness in their several parishes, by denunciation thereof to their Ordinaries, do forbear or neglect to discharge their duties therein; if to the several articles of enquiry they shall make false, partial, evasive, or no answers; if they shall shew no regard to those solemn oaths with which they are bounden, but shall prevaricate with me, with their own souls, and with God; the guilt will be wholly theirs, and they will be responsible for it to the Church of God, to their own consciences, and to the great Pastor and Bishop of souls.

But, my Brethren, we hope for better things from those who, we doubt not, are either of themselves well apprised, or have by you been acquainted with the nature and importance of their trust, though we thus speak; and we expect from them such a full, impartial, and distinct representation of the state of their several parishes, as may give us a clear view of whatever wants to be reformed therein, and enable us forthwith to pursue

sue the proper methods of redress. Till this is done, till I have either by their information or by other means gained those lights which are necessary to be had, before I can suit my pastoral admonitions to the particular circumstances of those to whom I speak; I must content myself, and hope that you will rest content, with some general advice, which, if it shall be received by you with the same good-will and candour with which it is given by me, and if, as far as to your own judgements it shall appear fit and reasonable to be observed, it shall accordingly in practice be complied with, will I doubt not tend very much to the support of your sacred dignity and character, to the honour of our Church, to the glory of God, to the salvation of your own souls, and to the edification of the people committed to your charge. Now that rule which I would propose to your consideration, and to your observance, in order to promote these great and good ends, is, that in your private and in your public capacities, through the whole tenor of your lives and conversations, and in every part of your sacred office, you would be careful to abstain not only from gross enormities, such as would be inexcusable in the lowest rank of Christians, but even from the least appearance of evil, which is not easily excused in the Ministers of the Gospel.

This duty of abstaining from all appearance of evil is indeed incumbent on all Christians in general, on those of the Laity, as well as us of the Clergy; but it doth in a more particular manner, and by more strong and forcible ties, oblige us, who, by the provi-

dence of God, and the impulses of his Holy Spirit, are called to the sacred Ministry of his Church. Each private Christian ought to be nicely tender of his reputation, as it is in itself highly valuable, and as it may be an useful instrument of procuring and of doing much good in the world ; but we, who are the Ministers of God, are still more nearly concerned, to avoid all things which may lessen, and to do all things that may procure, preserve, and heighten our estimation amongst men ; because every blemish with which our good name happens at any time to be sullied, doth not only disparage our persons, but redound to the disgrace of our function, to the scandal of Religion, and to the dishonour of God. The infirmities, the follies, the vices observed in those of other callings, are always imputed to the persons who are guilty of them, and are not wont to be charged on the whole profession : but, by a rule of judging looked upon to be unequal in all other cases except ours, if any of the Clergy do either in reality or so much as in appearance transgress, the whole profession is made answerable for it ; and though the fault be personal, the shame of it extends to all of the order.

And it were well if the mischief rested here ; but, God knows, it spreads itself still further ; so that the doctrine which we preach loses its efficacy and vigour, the sacraments which we dispense are brought into contempt, the offering of the Lord is abhorred, and the holy name of God blasphemed, because his Ministers are vile in the sight of the people. Now we may thus expose ourselves and our functions to public disgrace,

not only by actions really and notoriously sinful, but also by such as carry with them a semblance of evil. There is indeed this difference betwixt actions certainly and confessedly wicked, and such as are evil in appearance, that the former, being in their own nature evil, are more likely to be esteemed such by all or by most of those who observe them; whereas actions truly and at the bottom good, but only of an evil aspect and suspicious countenance, will not be in such evident danger of being thought evil by wise and good-natured men, as by those who are through ignorance disposed to mistake them, or through malice inclined to misconstrue them: but now it is our duty, who have dedicated ourselves to the Ministry, to order all our actions in such a manner, that we may not only gain the opinion of the few good and wise, but moreover escape the censure of the most ignorant and malicious: for, that we may not think that we are concerned to justify our conduct only to the sensible and wise, we are taught by St. Peter, that "it is the will of God, that by well-doing we should put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." That we may not satisfy ourselves in being thought and spoke well of by the charitable and good-natured, we are instructed by the example of St. Paul, "to do all we can do, that we may cut off occasion of censure even from them which desire occasion." That we may not confine our tenderness of offending to those of our own faith and profession, we are enjoined "to please all men in all things, and forbidden to give offence to the Jews and to the Gentiles," the declared enemies of our Religion, as well as to the Church of

God. That we may not acquiesce in the good esteem of our own friends and party, we are required to give no occasion "to the adversary to speak reproachfully of us; but to shew such uncorruptness and sincerity, that he who is of the contrary part may be ashamed having no evil thing to say." That we may not think it will suffice us to escape the censures of those who take only a transient and superficial view of things, our behaviour may be such as will bear the strictest scrutiny, that "we may not fall into the snare and reproach of the Devil," τῇ διαβολῇ, which I need not tell you is another word for an insidious accuser; one that "sifts the disciples as wheat," and could find something to object against that man of whom it was declared, that "there was none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feared God, and eschewed evil." In short, that we may not conclude any one man whatsoever under such a state of ignorance or sin, that we ought wholly to slight his opinion; and to be altogether indifferent how our actions appear to him, we are taught "by manifestation of the truth to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

And as this is the repeated doctrine of that Gospel which we preach unto our people as the rule of their practice, and ought therefore to make the constant measure of our own conduct, so also is it strongly founded in the reason and nature of the thing: for upon whatever grounds the appearance of evil is to be avoided by us of the Clergy, whatever are the mischievous effects of such an appearance, whether the blasting our own reputation,

reputation, which ought to be dear to all Christians, and much more so to us, or dishonouring the name of God, whose more immediate servants we are; or tempting others to sin by the scandal of a seeming bad example; or the occasioning them to offend by rash and uncharitable censures cast upon us; these are as likely to be the effects of such an appearance, when our actions seem evil in the sight of foolish and ungodly men, as when esteemed such in the opinion of men of sound piety and good understanding.

If we of this Church and of this age are guilty of any real, or, which in the eye of the world is the same thing, of any seeming miscarriages, we of all men must not hope that they should pass unobserved or uncensured. The blind devotion of the Papist may dispose him to pay a profound veneration to his Priest, and to overlook in him whatever may lessen that implicit reverence; and the Dissenter's charity will be sure to cast a veil over the nakedness of his Teacher: but the Flock, over whom we are appointed to watch, seldom fail to return the kind office, and to become our overseers; and what use soever we make of the trumpet which is put into our hands to warn the people of their sin and danger, they are sure "to cry aloud and spare not, but to lift up their voices to shew the Clergy their transgressions, and the house of Levi their sins."

That spirit of calumny and detraction, which was wont to lurk in corners, and to whisper in secret places, doth now affect to appear in public, and to defy all authority both Ecclesiastical and Civil; and our holy profession

is the principal mark at which licentious and profane Writers shoot out their arrows, even bitter and reproachful words. Ill-nature and sourness of temper render some men, in whom they are strongly rooted and highly predominant, very averse to observe any thing commendable, and very quick-sighted to discover something highly blameable in the conduct of those who set up to be guides, instructors, and comptrollers of others. This willingness to find fault with those whose office it is to admonish them of their faults, puts them upon nicely weighing and examining what they have beforehand resolved to condemn. If our actions, as to the main substance of them, are blameless and irreproveable, yet these men insidiously enquire, what one circumstance can be pitched upon, which, by being chargeable with some blemish it might have been clear of, or wanting some degree of perfection it might have had, may cast a stain and blot upon the whole action, and render it at least of a doubtful and suspicious nature. But when this ill humour is set on work by passion or resentment, when persons thus naturally disposed to find fault with us are provoked by any imagined injury or slight to examine our conduct, then the enquiry is still more strict and severe; then they look narrowly into all our paths, and "set a print upon the heels of our feet; they number our steps, and watch over all our goings." Malice whets the industry of the search, and impatience of being disappointed in this enquiry will not suffer them to desist, till by a long train of deductions they have at last, as they imagine, found

found that to be true, which they at first only wished or supposed to be so.

Some there are who are apt to judge the worst of every man, but more especially of the Clergy, purely to shew their talent in judging; they have, as they pretend, read books and men; they have consulted the laws and inclinations of human nature; they have taken as it were into pieces, and examined the first springs of each motion and action; they have learnt to distinguish betwixt appearances and realities, and to discover the wolf or fox that lurks under sheeps-cloathing; and, by a close insight and deep penetration into the working of mens minds, they have discovered that all men, Clergy as well as Laity, are alike wicked and vicious; that Virtue and Piety are only empty names, and consist in a bare outward shew; and that if the generality of those of our profession seem to be less scandalous in their lives than other men, it is only because they are more dextrous hypocrites.

Against the suspicions and censures of such men as these there is no fence whatsoever that will certainly and infallibly secure us: but the best shield we can possibly take up, and the most likely to repel these fiery darts of the wicked, is an innocent and unblameable life, and a strict care to abstain not only from gross and notorious crimes, but also from all appearance of evil. We may not be able with all our care and circumspection to avoid the reproaches of those who are the enemies of our persons, of our principles, of our order, of the Gospel which we preach, of the Lord and Master whom we serve; but still it is our duty to use our utmost endea-

endeavour to avoid those censorious reflections, which after the utmost stretch of our most vigorous endeavours we may not always be able to avoid. For I take it to be a wrong notion, that we are never to aim at any thing but what we have some probable hopes of attaining; that indeed can be no part of our indispensable duty, which it is not in our power to perform; but that may be the object of our earnest endeavour, which we shall never actually compass. As we are commanded to "follow peace with all men," though we must despair of ever obtaining, especially in such distracted times as these, what we are bound still to pursue; so we are required "to provide things honest, or creditable in the sight of all men," although the utmost provision we can make for this purpose may in the event prove ineffectual. The difficulty therefore, or even the moral impossibility of approving our conduct to the judgement of all who are witnesses of it, ought not to be urged as an excuse for our not attempting it, but should quicken our care, and stir up our vigilance, and make us exert our very utmost endeavour, that we may, as far as is possible, succeed in this laudable attempt.

Now, we may with greater confidence promise ourselves success in these endeavours, if, in order to escape the censures, and to gain the good opinion of our people, we observe the following directions.

I. That we be inwardly and sincerely good.

II. That we be prudent and circumspect in our outward behaviour.

III. That we take especial care to distinguish our good and innocent actions from those vices with which they are most likely to be confounded.

First,

First, The foundation of a fair appearance to the world must be primarily laid in the inward sincerity of the heart; for the shortest and safest, and perhaps the only way to appear good and virtuous, is really to be such as we desire to appear. A vital sense of our duty to God, whose Ministers we are, and a conscientious care of offending Him, to whom we are in the first place accountable, must be the predominant principle that gives laws to all we think, or speak, or do; that whilst we thus sincerely endeavour to approve ourselves to him "before whom all things are naked," we may promise ourselves a good name amongst men, and gain the affection and esteem of our people, both as the natural effect of a strict care in nothing to offend, and also as the gracious reward of an unfeigned piety towards God: as we have a sure Gospel-promise, "that if we first seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness," all other things which we want, the necessities and comforts of life, shall be superadded to us; so may we in the like manner securely depend upon the goodness of God, that if we make it our principal aim to approve ourselves in his sight, He, who can turn the hearts of men as he pleases, will dispose them to think well of us, and to judge favourably and tenderly of all our actions.

An honest simplicity of manners, and an unaffected openness of acting, without our taking care to shew it, must of itself plainly appear in whatever we do: for if, by any shew of artifice or cunning, we of the Clergy, whom nothing so much becomes, and from whom nothing is so much expected, as plainness and sincerity, do

once

once get the character of crafty and designing men; if we give ourselves leave to do any thing which looks like a trick, though it be for compassing even a good end; whatever we afterwards do, be our intentions never so sincere, will lie open to the suspicion of falshood and deceit: our actions, although to the eye they may have the gloss and stamp of Virtue, will still be thought forged and counterfeit; and those who have once discovered our tricking and double-dealing, will think they have hit upon the right key to decypher the whole secret of our conduct. But now, on the other side, when Integrity and an uniform practice of Virtue, founded upon religious principles, and shining through the whole course of our lives and conversations, have once established our character, and procured us a good esteem in the world, this reputation will be the best guard against unkind suspicions and severe censures; what is doubtful in our carriage, and admits of several interpretations, will be construed in analogy to what was without controversy worthy of praise; an esteem for our persons, gained by what we have done confessedly well, will incline men to judge the best of those actions which are not manifestly evil; and those who have entertained a favourable opinion of us for our former good life, will be willing to continue it, to shew the steadiness of their own judgement, as well as out of affection towards us. For it is in this case as in the point of Honour; the nicest judges of which will permit that to pass uncensured in men of known and acknowledged bravery, which in others of untried or suspected courage they would be sure to brand with the deepest marks of in-

infamy and reproach; so frequent is it, and withal so reasonable, that the same actions should have a far different aspect and appearance when performed by persons whose characters are not all alike.

And as it is thus necessary, in order to our avoiding all appearance of evil, in the first place to purge our consciences from every evil work, and to root out of our hearts those seeds of vice, which, if they be suffered to remain there, will some time or other sprout forth into unseemly and scandalous actions; so, in the

Second place, it will be highly expedient for us to be prudent and circumspect in our outward behaviour. For, that our actions may shine forth in their full beauty that there may nothing cleave to them, which may sully their brightness, that they may attract the eyes of all beholders, and be approved not only by those who take a superficial view of them, but even by such as examine them with the greatest care and nicety, it is necessary that some share of the wisdom of the serpent be super-added to the innocence of the dove. This Prudence, though not requisite in the same degree as Integrity, yet when joined with it, will be of marvellous use to give a due lustre to Virtue, and to set it forth to the utmost advantage. For though it is possible for men naturally disposed towards goodness, to be exceedingly honest, who are not extremely wise; yet this unguarded simplicity is apt to betray well-meaning and sincere persons of our profession, inured to solitude and retirement, and unacquainted with the world, into some singularities and indiscretions, which often cast a blemish both on them, and on those virtues which they practise with
good

good intentions, but with ill grace. For to make honest, virtuous, and religious actions look well, it is not enough that as to the main substance and matter of them they be agreeable to the laws of God, but there is something farther requisite in the very manner of their performance, to render them reputable, and to procure them a venerable esteem. That they may not want the utmost beauty of which they are capable, nor fail to recommend themselves to the approbation of all who observe them, we must always aim at that decorum which arises from our acting suitably not only to the rules of our Religion as we are Christians, but to our profession as we are Clergymen, and to our rank and condition as we are placed in an higher or lower station of the Church: which decency of acting, wherever it doth appear, doth mightily attract the esteem and applause of men; but which is not wont to appear in the conduct of any but persons of consummate wisdom and great experience, as well as of honest minds and unblemished integrity.

Not only “whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report;” on these things we are required to think; and we must think of them, in order to our doing such things. Towards doing such things as are true, a sincere love of truth will go a great way; towards doing such things as are honest, an honest mind will mightily dispose us; towards doing such things as are just, an upright intention will very much contribute; but, in order to our doing such things as are amiable and

re-

reputable, there is farther requisite a nice observation of what passes in the world, and an accurate judgement to discern, and care in our own conduct to imitate, that way and manner of acting which makes some good men beloved and esteemed; whilst others, who are equal to them in goodness, but inferior in prudence, are, if not perfectly hated, yet at least very much slighted and despised.

Next to that honest sincerity of heart, and integrity of mind, which I recommended to you, my Reverend Brethren, in the first place as the surest way to secure your actions from an evil appearance; and to that prudence and circumspection, which I have in the second place recommended as the best guard of Integrity, and greatest ornament of Virtue; I offer it to you as a third rule, well worthy of your observance, that, in the ordering of your lives and conversations, you take all possible care to distinguish your innocent and good actions from those faults and vices with which they are most likely to be confounded. For, in order to avoiding an evil appearance to the world, nothing can be more useful than a distinct notion of the similitude there is betwixt some virtues and some vices, and a strict care that our good and laudable, or at least unblameable actions, be not mistaken for those evil ones which they have any resemblance to. For in all objects which are taken the one for the other, there must be some shadow of likeness to occasion this mistake; and in the particular case now before us, there is scarce any vice which doth not borrow the features of some virtue; or any virtue which to a transient and careless view may not perhaps seem to have the colour

colour of some vice. This likeness it is, which gives room to the erroneous judgements of the ignorant, and the wilful misrepresentations of the malicious; without this, there would be nothing to misguide the one, nothing for the other to pervert: so that, if we would secure our innocent or even commendable actions from an evil appearance to our people, diligent caution must be used by us, to distinguish them from those particular vices for which they are most likely to be mistaken.

Would a truly zealous person not be looked upon or represented as fiery and hot-headed; he must take strict care, that his zeal be guided with knowledge, and tempered with charity; that it bear a due proportion to the objects he is zealous for or against; that it be more conversant about things, than about persons; that he be not zealous for little things, and unconcerned about greater; that he be not more zealous for or against an indifferent rite or ceremony, than for the Christian Religion itself, or against Infidelity; that his zeal be not so intemperate and outrageous, as to eat him up, or to put him upon devouring his Christian Brethren.

Would a moderate person avoid the imputation of being luke-warm, he must take care that he be moderate only in such things where there is danger of excess, and where consequently there is room and occasion for moderation; where a mean is commendable, he must neither fly too high, nor creep too low; but in those things in which it is laudable to excel, he must not affect moderation; about things in their nature, in their use, and in their consequence altogether indifferent, he may be indifferent, or not much concerned; but he
should

should neither be, nor desire to be thought, a moderate lover of Piety and Virtue, of Peace and Order; one that hath a moderate concern for the laws and liberties of his Country, for the welfare and prosperity of his Church, for the honour, safety, or life of his Prince.

There are many other Virtues which have the like affinity to some vices; as for instance, humility and meanness, meekness and insensibility, prudence and craft, steadiness and obstinacy, frugality and avarice; a just care to preserve the rights of the Church, and a sordid regard to our own personal interest; the challenging from our people that respect which is due to our character, and an undue affectation of honour to our persons: not to mention several others of the like affinity, which, by the resemblance they have one to the other, and by being often called by each other's names, are so liable to be taken one for the other, that, unless we attend carefully to those peculiar circumstances in which they differ, and study to express these distinct characters in our practice, the world must be much better-natured than we have reason to expect it should be, if "our good be not often evil spoken of."

I shall not be thought by you, my Reverend Brethren, to have insisted too largely, or too earnestly, on the duty incumbent upon us, who are Ministers of the Gospel, so to order all our actions, and so to behave ourselves in our several offices and ministrations, as to avoid every thing which may appear unseemly, if it be considered that our Church hath made Decency the sole ground and foundation of many of her Canons and Constitutions, and hath enjoined several things not as in

their own nature absolutely good, but as in their several places highly becoming; and hath prohibited many things not as essentially evil, but as highly indecent.

Thus, when the Church enjoins decency of apparel to her Ministers in the 74th Canon, she therein professes to follow the example of "the true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, which, being ever desirous that her Prelacy and Clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their Ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special Messengers and Ministers of Almighty God." And that ignorant people might not mistake, or slanderous folks misrepresent, the intentions of the Church in prescribing such particular habits, she hath in that Canon plainly declared her meaning to be; "not to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but for decency, gravity, and order."

In the 75th Canon concerning sober conversation required in Ministers, regard is had not only to sobriety, but also to decency. There have been consultations in the last Convocation, whether it might not be proper to extend that Canon against frequent resorting to taverns and ale-houses, and playing at dice, cards, and tables, to other instances of the same or like kind; which though not wholly unawful, nor in the Laity disallowable, yet in the Clergy are of evil fame, and tend to the diminution of their character; but whether any such enlargement of the Canon shall be thought expedient or not, every

every prudent and grave Clergyman will make it a rule to himself, from which he will not lightly swerve, to abstain from all actions, however innocent, which have the semblance of evil; and if there be any other places the resorting to which may be of as ill fame as the frequenting taverns or ale-houses, or any other games or sports as improper for a Clergyman to indulge himself in as those specified in the Canon, or any other actions of any kind whatsoever, which may give offence to sober-minded Christians, and bring a scandal upon his Ministry, he will be as careful to keep at a distance from all such actions, as if they were in the Canon expressly, and by name forbidden.

When it is by our Ecclesiastical laws provided, that there shall be “ a font of stone in every Church or Chapel for the more decent administration of Baptism, “ Can. 81; that decent tables shall be provided and “ placed for the celebration of the Holy Communion, “ and that these shall from time to time be kept and repaired in seemly manner, and covered in the time of “ divine service with a carpet of silk or other decent “ stuff, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of ministrations, as becometh that table, Can. 82; that the “ Church-wardens shall provide a comely and decent pulpit, to be seemly kept for the preaching of God’s “ word, Can. 83; that all things in the Church shall “ be kept in such an orderly and decent sort, without “ dust, or any thing that may be unseemly, as best “ becometh the House of God, Can. 84:” Plain it is, and by the framers of these laws plainly declared, that

in all sacred offices, and by all sacred persons, a great regard ought to be had to decency.

Herein therefore, my beloved Brethren, let us exercise ourselves, "to have always a conscience void of offence," in the first place "towards God," and in the second place "towards men" also: let us endeavour to be not only "harmless, but blameless; the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, among whom let us shine as lights in the world." And in order to preserve this unspotted character, let us approve ourselves true and genuine Sons of the Church of England, by a steady adherence to its doctrines, a devout celebration of its worship, and a strict conformity to its orders, rules, and discipline. And among the other doctrines of our Church, let us be steadfast to those principles of Loyalty by which our Church hath been long distinguished, and for which it hath been often reproached; let us not espouse those principles, let us not imitate those practices of disobedience and resistance, against which we have been wont to express so just and commendable a zeal; let us seriously consider, how indelible a brand of infamy and scandal we should bring upon ourselves, upon our order, and upon our Church; how justly we should be liable to the imputation of the foulest hypocrisy, and grossest prevarication with God and man, if, after all our professions of loyalty, after having bound upon our souls the duties of faithfulness and allegiance to his present Majesty by solemn and repeated oaths, we should break these bonds asunder, and cast away these cords from us; if, whilst in the daily prayers of our
Church

Church we pretend “ must heartily to beseech God with
 “ his favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign, and
 “ to strengthen him, that he may vanquish and over-
 “ come all his enemies,” we ourselves should be found
 in the number of those enemies; if, whilst at our ap-
 proaches to the Holy Altar we pray unto God, “ that
 “ we, duly considering whose authority our King hath,
 “ may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him
 “ according to God’s blessed word and ordinance,” we
 should any way deserve, dishonour, and disobey him, in
 open defiance of God’s word and ordinance.

In speaking to this head, I have purposely chose to
 address myself to you in the same words which I made
 use of the last year in a Sermon preached at my Cathed-
 ral at a public ordination, and before a great audi-
 ence, whilst the Rebellion was at the highest; lest, if I
 should express my dislike of it since its being suppressed
 in higher terms than I did whilst the event was dubious,
 I should lay myself open by such an appearance to those
 suspicions and censures, which I have been cautioning
 you with the utmost diligence to avoid.

And here I gladly embrace this opportunity of return-
 ing my thanks to you, my Reverend Brethren of this
 City of Bristol, for your ready and chearful compliance
 with the instructions I sent you to put your respective
 auditories in mind of their sworn duty of allegiance to
 the King, at that critical juncture, when we were alar-
 med with the report of a designed attack upon this city
 by the favourers of the Rebellion; whereby you gave
 such a proof of your fidelity and allegiance to his Ma-
 jesty, as few subjects of our profession had an opportu-

nity of giving, and such an one as must satisfy all unprejudiced persons of your sincere and hearty affection to the present Government; in which I hope you will, notwithstanding any discouragements you may meet with by any ill treatment from your fellow-subjects, steadily and unalterably persevere.

Let us, my Brethren, give no occasion to our adversaries, either in regard to our loyalty, or in any other respect whatsoever, to speak reproachfully of us; but let us on all occasions, and in all parts of our conduct, shew such uncorruptness and sincerity, that those who are our avowed or concealed enemies "may be ashamed, having "no evil thing to speak of us."

Departure from iniquity, and holiness of life, are required in all who name the name of Christ; but from us, who are the stewards of the mysteries of the Gospel and the dispensers of his Holy Sacraments, higher degrees of piety, and more eminent instances of virtue, are expected both by God and man; as we are separated from others by the sacredness of our function, so we ought in all our actions, and in the whole tenour of our conversation, to distinguish ourselves from the bulk of mankind.

Let me therefore earnestly beseech you, my Brethren and dearly beloved Sons in Christ, to be mindful of that high calling, which our blessed Lord and Saviour hath dignified you with. If you desire, if you expect, as you reasonably may, to be revered by your people, learn first to reverence yourselves; that no man may despise you, keep at the utmost distance from every thing which may render you mean and contemptible; have a
due

due regard to the dignity of your sacred character; and in order to support that dignity, let your good works shine forth with such a lustre, that those who see them may honour you, and your order, for you work's sake, and "may glorify your Father which is in heaven."

I transmitted to you a circular letter directed to me, and to the rest of the Bishops of this province, from his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. The rules laid down therein are consonant to the Canons of our Church, and to former injunctions, set forth since the Reformation by regal or metropolitical authority, and are not new, but revived; they were unanimously agreed to by all the Bishops who were present at the framing of them; they seem to have a manifest tendency to the honour of God, and to the edification of his Church; and by our conformity to them in our several stations, as far as they respectively concern us, we shall make the most suitable and most acceptable return to our most reverend Metropolitan, for the late signal proof he hath given us of his firm resolution to oppose with his utmost power and vigour all dangerous innovations and encroachments that may be hereafter attempted upon the establishment of the Church; whose prosperity, welfare, and interest, he hath hereby shewn himself to have much at heart. And I doubt not but you, my Brethren, will carefully observe these directions, both out of the common duty you owe to him as our Metropolitan, and out of that peculiar respect which you of this place have for him as a native and ornament of this country*.

* Archbishop Wake was a native of the County of Dorset.

XXIII. ARCHDEACON BENTLEY'S SPEECH
TO THE CLERGY OF ELY, AT HIS
VISITATION HELD IN CAMBRIDGE,

Dec. 13, 1716.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN OF THE CLERGY,

IN a season so very severe, and on the shortest days of the year, when it wants an apology for even calling you together, it would be a double fault to detain you with a long and tedious Charge. I shall only therefore in few words congratulate you and myself upon the happy Change in public affairs, since my last Visitation. The face of things was at that time very cloudy and melancholy; an open Rebellion broken out in the bowels of the land: but at present, by the blessing of God, it has recovered its former countenance and air. So that henceforth, under the fortitude, wisdom, and clemency of our most gracious Sovereign King George, by his mild victories at home, and his prudent alliances abroad, we may surely presage and promise, as now commenced and flowing on, a most prosperous age to Great-Britain.

And in this pleasing prospect we of the Clergy have particular reason to rejoice above our fellow-subjects of the Laity, when we patiently consider the deplorable condition of the Ministers of our Church, had the fortune of the sword fallen out contrary, and had a Popish Pretender been placed on the Throne.

I need not now paint to you what horrid scenes were prepared for us, had we once lain at the feet of our Popish enemies abroad : a Church (as it has long been managed) whose very mercies are cruel, whose promises are all deceits, whose riches and power (the two grand aims of their polity) are our own certain beggary and slavery. On this, I say, I need not now expatiate, having lately done it in a Sermon, which, since our last meeting, I had the honour to preach before this learned University.

But what I would now remark to you is, the usage that was intended us by the once pretended members of our own Church, " who (in the Apostle's style) went out " from us, but were not of us : for if they had been of " us, they would no doubt have continued with us."

These, by the hasty publication of some posthumous writings of their superiors, have discovered how kindly they would have used their Brethren of the Clergy, even those that were most tender to them, and perhaps contributed to their subsistence; had their pretended Prince been once settled secure in the Monarchy.

Every one of us Clergy-men present whose age does not date his orders before the Revolution, and, except a small handful, the whole complex of the English Clergy (for even our seniors were to be brought in guilty by a secondary fetch), must have disclaimed and renounced his present orders, and the younger and major part of us their very baptism; unless we chose to incur the nominal crime of schism, and the real penalty of deprivation. We must have owned, and publicly professed, that the highest exercises of our ministerial function have been

all

all along invalid and null, nay sinful and abominable to God; that consequently all Church-preferments, possessed by any of us under such incapacity, were usurped, forfeited, and actually void; not dignities only and parochial livings, but all those masterships and fellowships of both Universities, which statutably (as most of them do) require Holy orders. These preferments, if continued to any of us, whether by favour or neglect, must have been humbly accepted by us as a new presentation and gift: and whom of us they would have continued in the priestly office, by absolution, confirmation, or re-ordination (words equivalent in real effect), would have lain entirely at their judgement and good-will; that is, if our preferment was of good value, and an agreeable morsel to our Masters, we must either have descended to some poorer benefice in the Church, or to the common condition and station of a Layman. This pious and charitable scheme was ready prepared for us all, whenever they should have power to put it in execution; and to justify or colour it, such new doctrines, such absurd positions, were hammered and forged, as sap and undermine the main foundations of Christianity; as make the very charter of man's salvation precarious and uncertain; as would render the whole visible Church a meer office of Heraldry; as were all adapted to secular and political views, with a spirit truly Machiavilian and Jesuitical.

This last will clearly appear, if we recollect the progress of their artifices for the space of some years past. The first step was a pretended attack upon the Dissenters, the invalidity of Lay-baptism: though in this point

the

the Dissenters were of all men the least concerned; the Calvinian doctrine being more strict and rigorous against Lay-baptism, than either the Primitive Church's or our own. Why then, against the Dissenters? But the hook lay hid and out of sight, in the inference or second proposition? Lay-baptism is invalid: but the Dissenting Ministers are mere Laymen, for want of Episcopal orders: therefore they cannot efficaciously baptize. Thus a Calvinian position, untaught by our Church, was craftily assumed, asserted, and espoused, on purpose to unchristen all the Calvinists themselves, and with them the much greater part of the whole Reformation. Horrible to speak or think! but the authors and first broachers of it had a politic aim in it. 'Twas directly leveled at the Protestant succession; against the illustrious House of Hanover, which by this wonderful doctrine was to be wholly excluded out of the Church of Christ; and their tacit consequence was ready and plain, that of two evils it was better to have a Papist on the Throne than a Pagan.

This unchristening assertion, so false, so injurious to God and man, quite contrary to the good old doctrine of our Reformed Ancestors in England, and calculated by its contrivers merely for worldly ends and the Pretender's service, was delivered out and retailed with zeal, as a most important point of Faith and Salvation. And too many of our younger Clergy, well-meaning men, and quite ignorant of the drift of it, preached strenuously the new opinion; drawn in by the specious bait of adding dignity and prerogative to their own Episcopal orders.

But

But see now the second step of our politic Theologues. They kept in reserve a distinction, to be produced at a proper juncture, that reduced and sunk us all, even those that had laboured for them, and proclaimed the highest necessity of Episcopal orders and Clerical baptism, to as low a condition as the very Calvinists themselves. For Episcopal orders, which we thought ourselves possessed of, were in their secret sense within a very narrow compass, being proper to such only as had received their ordination from the hands of the deprived Bishops, or their clandestine successors. So that every one of us were in an instant to be voted mere Laymen; and the junior part of us to be on the self-same level with the unbaptized Indians, to be left (without some kind help) to the uncovenanted mercies of God. Thus the first position was minted to restore their pretended Prince; and the second, when that restoration was got, to get into their own hands all the rich preferments of England.

Without doubt, this last doctrine was to be carefully suppressed and concealed, till the occasion was ripe for it; and in the mean time their deluded assistants were to be soothed and cajoled with ambiguous words about the promised grandeur and splendor of the English Church. But the Modellers and Projectors of this scheme happening to die; their Inferiors, out of a blind veneration for their invaluable remains*, were so providentially infatuated, as to print and publish them quite out of season; while they still wanted the help of those whom they designed to make dupes of; while their Pretender's affairs were in the utmost desperation.

* This seems to allude particularly to the Works of Dr. Hickes and Bp. Bull.

This certainly, or nothing can, will open the eyes of every Clergyman amongst us; even of those whom these Managers had decoyed, either into a compassionate sense of their sufferings, or a kind opinion of their cause, or an indifference about the great event. And from henceforth every one of us must needs esteem and congratulate the establishment of the Monarchy in the same Royal race that now possesses it (the only Protestant blood of the renowned family of the Stuarts), as the sole security of his Religion, his Christian liberty, his preferment, his very profession: since he finds that on both hands he was marked but for a sacrifice, on the one to his incapable adversaries the Romans abroad, on the other to his ambitious and prevaricating brethren at home.

XXIV. EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH OF
LORD LANSDOWNE, AGAINST THE
OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY BILL,

Dec. 19, 1718. *

IF any man can say as much for the Dissenters, let him speak. The Reverend Prelates, who have exerted in this debate, having been prepared to fulminate against the Test, without being admitted into the secret of withdrawing the question, have unfortunately employed their quivers in the air.

* Printed from Bp. Atterbury's MS.

“ One

" One indeed there is *, who must not be forgot,
 " who, wandering beyond the rest in a long historical
 " collection from pamphlets and libels, has let himself
 " loose against the sacred memory of the Royal Martyr.
 " He has accused him, if not of all Popery, of half
 " Popery, very near Popery, almost all Popery. Why
 " would he not speak out? For what means this school
 " distinction betwixt almost all a Papist, and quite?
 " Hard fate of the best of men and of Kings! He who
 " renounced the purple to preserve the lawn, who
 " died for the Church, and who is commemorated as a
 " Martyr for the Church, is yet exposed, within an age
 " after his descent from the scaffold to the grave, to be
 " murdered over again in fame, even in the Supreme
 " Court of Judicature, by one in that Venerable Order,
 " in that very Episcopacy, for which he sacrificed his
 " liberty, his life, his crown.

" The execrable wretch who severed his head from his
 " body, performed the inhuman office in a mask; but
 " this holy Executioner, who cuts what the axe could
 " not hurt, what the Regicides could not take from him,
 " his good name, has not been ashamed to attempt it
 " bare-faced. It grieves me that this animadversion
 " should fall to my lot, to the lot of any private Lord:
 " I was in hopes a general indignation would have
 " warmed this Noble Assembly to have made it their own
 " act to reprehend such irreverend slanders, as would
 " have much better become a descendant from Brad-
 " shaw than a successor of Laud. But I ask pardon;
 " this unlucky reflection may have transported me

* Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of Lincoln.

" far.

“far. In a word, that I may not appear prejudiced to
 “merit in any man, I will conclude with this motion,
 “That a list be laid before us of such Dissenters by
 “name as have in any kind merited from the publick,
 “and I will most readily come into any measures that
 “may distinguish them and their particular service.

“God forbid but that they should have their de-
 “serts !”

XXV. BISHOP ATTERBURY'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS *,

May 11, 1723.

MY LORDS,

I HAVE been under a very long and close confine-
 ment, in which I have been treated by the person
 in whose immediate custody I was with such severity,
 and so great indignity, as I believe, no prisoner in the
 Tower, of my age, infirmities, function, and rank,
 ever underwent : by which means, what little strength
 and use of my limbs I had, when committed in August
 last, is now so far impaired, that I am very unfit to

* Collated with an authentic MS. in the possession of Dr.
 Morice. The reader needs scarcely compare more than a
 single paragraph, to be convinced of the mutilated state in
 which this Speech has hitherto been presented to the publick.
 Some whole sentences were totally omitted, and the sense of
 many others quite perverted.

appear

appear before your Lordships on any occasion; especially when I am to make my defence against a bill of so extraordinary a nature and tendency.

I mention this, at the entrance of what I have to say, not so much in the way of complaint, as excuse; hoping that, if I should fail in any part of my own justification, your Lordships will impute such defect to the true cause, not my want of innocence or arguments to support it (my Counsel *, I thank them, have amply shewed that I want neither), but to the great weakness of body and mind under which I at present labour. Such usage, such hardships of every kind, such insults as I have undergone, might have broken a more resolute spirit, and a much firmer constitution than has fallen to my share.

Your Lordships were pleased to permit me to appear before the Commons †, by my Counsel, or in person if
I

* House of Commons, March 25. Mr. Speaker acquainted the House, "That he had this morning received a letter from the Lord Bishop of Rochester, dated Tower, March 23, 1722-3, 'That, his Lordship having received a copy of a Bill for inflicting certain pains and penalties upon him, for supposed crimes, of which he is innocent, he hoped he should be allowed to have Sir Constantine Phipps, and William Wynne, Esq. for his counsel; and Mr. Joseph Taylor and Mr. William Morice for his solicitors; to assist him, in order to the making his defence; and that they may have free access to him, to receive his instructions, and give him their advice in private.'"—Mr. (afterwards Serjeant) Wynne, conceiving himself reflected on many years after for his conduct in this business, by a writer to whose opinions every deference is due, thought proper to vindicate himself in some "Observations," which shall be printed immediately after the Bishop's Speech.

† House of Lords, March 29. A Petition of Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, prisoner in his Majesty's Tower of

I thought fit. Lest that should be turned to my disadvantage, as in fact the Counsel * for the bill have turned it, as if I declined any occasion of justifying myself, I crave leave to acquaint your Lordships with some of the reasons why I did not think fit to make use of the liberty you gave me †; especially since it seems to me to have been given with a tacit insinuation, that if I should not think fit to make use of it, your Lordships would be no ways displeased.

of London, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, "That, by order of the House of Commons, he has received a copy of a Bill for inflicting certain pains and penalties upon him, for supposed crimes, of which he is innocent: That by another order of the said House (upon the Petitioner's letter to the Speaker), Counsel and Solicitors are allowed to come to him, to assist him in the making his defence. But the Petitioner finding, by a standing order of this honourable House, of the 20th January, 1673, "That no Lord may appear by Counsel before the House of Commons, to answer any accusation there;" he is under great difficulty. And that he may not do any thing which may give offence to their Lordships, and be derogatory to the rights of Peerage, in which, as a Member of this House, he has the honour to partake; the Petitioner humbly prays their Lordships directions, for his conduct in this behalf."

* Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg.

† House of Commons, April 4. Mr. Speaker acquainted the House, That he had, since he had taken the chair, received a letter from the Lord Bishop of Rochester; which his Lordship desired might be communicated to the House; and Mr. Speaker read the said letter to the House, containing, in substance, "That his Lordship, though conscious of his own innocence, did on several accounts decline giving this House any trouble to-day; and contented himself with the opportunity, if the Bill goes on, of making his defence before another, of which he hath the honour to be a Member."

March 11. It was by the House of Commons thus Resolved,

“ That it appears to this House, that Francis Lord
“ Bishop of Rochester was principally concerned
“ in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked
“ and detestable conspiracy, for invading these
“ kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising
“ insurrections and a rebellion at home, in order
“ to subvert our present happy Establishment in
“ Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender
“ on the throne.”

Upon duly weighing which resolution, and the copy of the bill afterwards sent me, I found not that there was any thing charged against me in that bill, but what was fully contained, and had been previously resolved, in this vote. And any plea therefore on my behalf, which should have been offered to that House, must have been in vain, as carrying an express contradiction to a solemn determination already made by them. What they sent me was really the preamble of the bill only; the enacting part, relating to pains and penalties, was to follow; but not being then part of the bill, my Counsel had no room to say any thing on that head. They have since been added in the bill, and sent up to your Lordships (in like manner as the Resolution of March 11. passed) without hearing the person accused, without oath made, or any criminal accusation brought against him by any living witness whatsoever. And yet the person thus sentenced below to be deprived of all his preferments, to suffer perpetual exile, to be rendered incapable of any office or employment, or even

of any pardon from the Crown, and with whom no man must hereafter converse or correspond by letter, message, or otherwise, without being guilty of felony, is a Bishop of this Church, and a Lord of Parliament; the very first instance of a Member of this House so treated, so prejudged, so condemned, originally in another: and may it be the last! though such precedents, once set, seldom stand single; but are apt, even without a blessing, to be fruitful and multiply in after-times! a reflection that deserves seriously to be considered by those who, observing that this case has never before in all its circumstances happened, may too easily conclude that it will never happen again!

The whole bill is now before your Lordships; not the preamble or recital only, but the enacting part also. I am at liberty not only to clear myself from the charge brought, but humbly to object also against the punishment designed; you have not precluded your judgment by any previous resolution concerning my guilt; you are capable of examining into the truth of matters upon oath, and with all the solemn forms of a Legal Judicature: and therefore I have hopes that what is offered here in my behalf may have its due weight, and do on that account appear the more cheerfully before you.

My Counsel have done their part, in arguing the points of law, in explaining and enforcing the evidences on my side, and invalidating the little colours, appearances, and shadows of proof (permit me to call them what I have proved them) that have been produced on the other, and in setting out the consequences with which a bill founded on such a bottom, carried on in such a man-

ner, and enacting such severe penalties, must and will be attended.

It may become me also to say somewhat for myself; lest my silence should be interpreted into a consciousness of guilt, or at least an unwillingness to enter into matters of so dark and perplexed, or so nice and tender a nature, that I either was not able, or did not care to explain myself upon them, and chose therefore to leave all to the management of others.

I thank God, I am under no such restraints, and can speak to your Lordships on this subject with great freedom and plainness.

But, before I proceed, I beg leave to represent to your Lordships some particular hardships under which I have laboured. First, the reading extracts of anonymous letters, without suffering any other parts of the same letters, though relating to the same subject, to be read. Next, excusing the decyphered from answering questions, lest he should reveal the rules of his art. The not suffering me to ask the clerks of the post-office questions necessary to my defence, lest the secrets of the office should be discovered. The not suffering a person who has been near ten years out of the Secretary's office to answer any questions relating to the Government (however necessary for my defence) which came to his knowledge by reason of his having been in that office. The reading examinations neither dated, signed, nor sworn to. The reading letters supposed to be criminal, written in another man's hand, and supposed to be dictated by me, without offering any proof, though called upon, that I either dictated them, or was privy to them.

The

The not allowing me copies of the decyphered letters (though petitioned for) till the trial was so far advanced that I had not sufficient time to consider them. Not allowing me to read out of the collection of papers before the House any part of them in order to discharge myself, but what had been read to charge me.

And all this in a proceeding where the Counsel for the bill professed they had no legal evidence, nor were to be confined to the rules of any Court of Law or Equity, though, when it was for their service, they constantly sheltered themselves under them.

My Lords, these are the hardships which I previously mention, and humbly lay before your Lordships.

The general charge of the bill is, "That I have been deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on a wicked and detestable conspiracy, and a principal actor therein."

And this general charge is divided into two heads.

1. "That I traiterously consulted and corresponded with divers persons, to raise an insurrection against his Majesty within this kingdom, and to procure a foreign force to invade the same, in order to depose his Majesty, and place the Pretender on his throne." And,

2. "That I traiterously corresponded with the said Pretender, and persons employed by him, knowing them to be so employed."

But has either part of this charge been made good by the Counsel for the bill? Have they proved me guilty of any one consultation with any one person whatsoever, for the purposes alledged? Is there any thing in the reports, or appendixes, that tends towards such a proof,

except the idle story of the *Burford Club*, too much exploded already to be worth confuting, and two or three loose passages in Neynoe's and Pancier's hear-say informations, where I am mentioned (by the one or the other) together with the Lords Orrery, North, Strafford, Kinnoul, and Sir H. Goring, as concerned in the management of this affair? Neynoe's pretended intelligence is from Kelly; Pancier's from Skeen; both Kelly and Skeen have, at your bar, denied that they ever said any such thing.

I have met all these Lords, I own, at different times: but, upon the best recollection I can make, I never in all my life was with any three of them at once, unless perhaps at some general meeting about affairs then depending in Parliament.

The Earl of Strafford has visited me now and then, and I him, when I had health; and I have dined with him once at his house, and but once that I remember. At my Lord North's table I have not ate so much as once; and though I have a great honour for that noble Lord, yet I never had any intimacy with him, especially since the affair of the Dormitory*, wherein he appeared against me with so much zeal and earnestness, that I had certainly lost the cause if his affairs had not called him into Holland while it was depending. Lawson indeed has sworn, from Farnden [who denies it], that this Lord often visited me at Bromley: but in truth he never was there above thrice in all his life; and, if he had been there oftener, a good account might have been given of such an intercourse, for he is a tenant of the Bishoprick.

* See vol. II. p. 114.

With my Lord Kinnoul, I verily believe, I have not been once these two years; nor met my Lord Orrery with company upon any business whatever but that of Parliament during the same time; and once, I think, we dined together at the house of a great person, whose name if I should mention, your Lordships would not think any harm done, or intended, at such a meeting. I am thus particular as to my Lord Orrery, because he is said to have been the Chairman of that Club, of which I was so ill a member as not to know, no not even at this day, of whom it consisted, or where it was held. But when the Chairman was bailed, this groundless and senseless piece of scandal vanished.

I scarce ever visited Sir Henry Goring in my life. He has seen me indeed several times at the Deanry, but not once at Bromley: and the occasion of such visits was, his placing four of his sons at Westminster-school, where (I think) they still are, and his intentions to breed some of them up for the College. But Mr. Caryl's information (upon hear-say, as all the rest against me are) about a rupture between us, is so far from being true, that the last time Sir Harry saw me (above a twelvemonth ago) I promised him to bring one of his sons in upon the foundation; and wish I may be able to be as good as my word*.

Your Lordships will excuse the particularity of my accounts, when you consider how dangerous a thing it is for any man to be thought too well acquainted with me, and how fit it is therefore that I should clear the

* In this of course our Bishop was disappointed; nor did either of the young Gorings obtain admission by any other interest.

persons charged from so mischievous an imputation; especially since with these, and these only, I am reported or insinuated to have held consultations to forward the conspiracy; the first grand article of the general charge: and indeed a conspiracy without consultations is not very intelligible. How that article has been made good, your Lordships will judge; not one overt-act, or circumstance of time and place, being alledged, much less proved.

I proceed now to enquire whether there be any better evidence for my conspiring and corresponding, than there is for my consulting.

And here, my Lords, the only article I meet with of an home-correspondence for such wicked purposes is that of the military-chest, and a fund of £. 200,000, said to be raised by contributions, for the use of the conspirators, and deposited in my hands. This stands upon Mr. Fancier's report from Mr. Skeen, who has told your Lordships that it is false; and indeed, my Lords, I believe that it is; for, though I know not Mr. Skeen, yet he has the reputation of a sensible man; and therefore, I am persuaded, could not say so silly a thing. I refer myself to what my Counsel have urged on this head; and shall only add my solemn assurances, that I never had in my possession or power, of my own or other man's money lodged in my hands, or in the hands of others with my consent or privity, either in specie, bills, bonds, or securities of any kind, full £. 1,200. at any one time of my life, since I married my daughter about eight years ago, except the money I collected for the Dormitory; and which, as soon as I had it, I deposited

sited in other hands, that I judged responsible. It would be well for me (if I must be ruined by the present bill) that this article were in some measure true; for, as no great sum appears to have been disbursed on this plot, I suppose the gentlemen concerned would not envy me my share of it: and then the thoughts of perpetual exile would be more tolerable, when I was sure of some support. The Committee of the House of Commons beat upon this point often, and make use of it to corroborate several of their surmises and guesses upon ambiguous passages in intercepted letters. One would think they were in earnest! And yet they are all of them honourable men, and of good understanding.

I wish it were practicable, my Lords, to insert an advertisement in the Gazette, inviting every man who had lodged any money with me for such a purpose to declare it, and promising him pardon. I would willingly join in such invitation, by signing it myself. And if any one person of character should, with circumstances of credibility, affirm any such thing, I would not put your Lordships to the trouble of convicting me, but own the whole charge.

I am not proved, therefore I am not with the least colour of proof charged, to have consulted and conspired here at home.

The next (and indeed the only material) part of the charge is, my "corresponding abroad with
"the Pretender, and those employed by him,
"knowing them to be so employed."

An high and heinous accusation, my Lords! strongly asserted, much insisted on; but how maintained? is the question.

The

The true state of this part of my charge, as fairly and fully as I can collect it, is this: I will not, in any degree, dissemble the force of it.

1. That I did (April 20, 1722) dictate three letters*, to Mr. Dillon, the late Lord Mar, and the Pretender himself, under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Musgrave*, and *Jackson*; to which letters the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, and the number 1378 (all denoting me), were, by my direction, subscribed.

2. That afterwards two letters from two of these, Mar and Dillon (of the dates of May 11 and July 25), were sent me, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*; and intercepted coming to me.

3. That a certain intercepted correspondence between the Pretender's agents abroad, and some persons here, attributed partly to Mr. Kelly and partly to Mr. Carte on this side, was directed by me; and that I was at the head of it, and am therefore answerable for what is contained in it.

This is the substance of my charge: all the other particulars alledged are circumstantial, and made use of only as they are thought to give light and strength to one or other of these articles.

As to the first of these points, That the letter to *Jackson* most certainly was not a letter to the Pretender; and to whomsoever it was written, yet that I did not, and could not possibly dictate either that or the two others of the same date, has been made out to your Lordships by such a variety of convincing reflections, and such a concurrence of evidence (clear, full, and

* See these under the above date in the second volume.

legal evidence), as, I persuade myself, can have left no doubt remaining upon the mind of any candid and indifferent person.

A plain matter of fact, supported by such united testimonies, cannot be overthrown by those little guesses and surmises that are brought to shake it.

Indeed I was under the known difficulty of proving a negative, which in many cases is not to be done. But it so happened in this case, that the peculiar circumstances attending this point of time, and never concurring in any other part of my life, have enabled me to do it; and, as they have given great advantages towards colouring the charge brought against me; so have they given me still greater towards removing it. My being confined April 20, 1722, to my bed or chair, and attended every minute, day and night, before, at, and after that time, by some of my servants, and receiving frequent messages by others about my wife's illness and approaching death; the agreeing testimony of the whole family, that no stranger came near me about this time; and the coincidence of the election for the school of Westminster, which made my several servants capable of recollecting the times at which they were either with me or from me; have concurred towards furnishing me with such a proof of my innocence in this matter as, I hope, is not to be withstood.

That these three letters are in the hand of Mr. Kelly, my supposed amanuensis, has been sworn by the clerks of the post-office: but, your Lordships will remember, their oaths were at four months distance from the time
of

of seeing those letters : that, during that whole series of letters stopped and copied, they never had an opportunity of comparing one original with another ; and that the only original of August 20, which they detained as a specimen of the rest, has been proved, at your bar, by witnesses, not to be in the hand of Mr. Kelly ; and you will likewise please to remember, that the very supposition of Mr. Kelly's being my secretary for such affairs, or even in any degree of intimacy with me, has been shewn to be false and groundless.

The decyphers' assertions are necessary to support this part of the charge. But, I hope, they will not be e'er the more prevalent with your Lordships because the accused person has had no opportunity of examining them. This cannot possibly be done at your bar ; and when I desired copies in order to consider them elsewhere, they were denied me : whereas, with your favour, my Lords, I had hopes that such new evidence, depending on the integrity as well as skill of the dealers in this dark art, might have been attended also with some new indulgence to the criminal ; and that nothing should have been produced against me which I could not confute only because I could not understand.

From one instance upon which these gentlemen have been examined, it has appeared that they are at a loss to prove the certainty of their conclusions built on such uncertain premises ; and that the *Science of Decyphering* (with the leave of the Noble and Right Reverend Lords that drew up the Report) is not a phrase that belongs to them. It may be an *Art*, and carry some degree of probability with it in some cases ; but
being

being founded on guesses, and those (as you have heard) sometimes very uncertain and precarious, it can be no *Science*. Nor ought such explications of Decyphers to be urged by way of testimony in any criminal cause, unless the party accused had had time allowed him sufficient to examine into the truth of those explications; which these gentlemen themselves have owned at your bar cannot on the spot, and in an instant, be done: and, I hope, their opinion will have as much weight with your Lordships in one case, as their conjectures in another.

If it be said, who then wrote these three letters, and with what view were they written? The answer to the latter of these questions is pretty obvious: my being here at your bar sufficiently explains it. But am I to be called upon to give any account of the former? It is sufficient for me to prove who did *not* write them, and I have proved it abundantly. Let but any momentous part of the charge brought against me be made out with *half* the evidence, and I will submit without disputing it. Five or six such living witnesses would have borne down the testimony of one or two, who should even have sworn the contrary. But where there are none on the one side (but only uncertain guesses and specious appearances), and such a crowd of positive direct witnesses on the other; can your Lordships deliberate for a moment about the reasonableness of fixing your judgements, which ought always, even in doubtful cases, to lean towards the favourable side?

I shall therefore take this point, in what follows, as once for all established and granted; and go on securely to shew the weakness of the rest of the allegations,
which

which have no strength but as they derive it from this. When once the foundation is undermined, the rest of the building must totter and tumble.

As to the other part of the accusation on this head, that the letter to *Jackson* was a letter to the Pretender, I have nothing to do with it. He that wrote that letter, when known, will best be able, as he is most concerned, to disprove it. However, since this objection was thrown in merely *ad confundam invidiam*, and as carrying an odious sound with it, I shall briefly shew your Lordships how that matter stands. *Jackson*, it seems, in a cypher of Plunket's, is said to denote the Pretender: therefore, in a letter supposed to be dictated by me, and put into cypher by Mr. Kelly, it must denote him also. Now Plunket's cypher, my Lords, consists of 150 names, of which not one is even used in any of the letters attributed to Mr. Kelly. Three or four of these names are indeed used by persons supposed to have written to Mr. Kelly from abroad: but not one of them is used by him. Nor does *Jackson* ever in his part of the correspondence stand for the Pretender; though he has fifty occasions of mentioning him, it is always under other appellations. Nay, Plunket himself, in all his letters written upon this cypher, never styles the Pretender *Jackson*, but either *Joseph* or *Jepson*. Why should a name in Kelly's correspondence be explained by an article in Plunket's cypher, which Kelly appears no way to be acquainted with, and which Plunket himself never in this instance used? I forbear any further repetition on this head, and shall only add, that at this rate of interpreting the
feigned

feigned names in one man's letters by the cypher of another, what is there that might not be proved? The gentlemen at the bar have made some observations of this kind: let me add one more. In the intercepted correspondence, the Pretender is sometimes styled *Addison*; but in Plunket's cypher, *Addison* stands always for the Archbishop of Canterbury. I make this remark with all due regard to that most reverend Prelate, and think it no greater a reflection upon him, than it is upon me to have the name *Justus* allotted me in the same cypher: which yet the Committee of the Lower House think to be an observation of some weight; else they would not have given it a place in their report.

[* In this point also (and indeed in every point) those who undertook my defence laboured under a very great hardship; since they had no other materials to help them to disprove the misapplication made of the feigned name of *Jackson*, but what they had from the Report and Appendix. And yet, even by the help of these, they have been able to do it so clearly, so effectually, as to admit of no reply. Doubtless, whoever had the opportunity they wanted, of inspecting all original papers relating to the conspiracy, must, or might have known still better than they have been able to prove, that *Jackson* (to whom the letter of April 20 is directed) was not the Pretender].

My Lords, these three were the only letters at first expressly ascribed to me. There is another to *Dubois* †, lately found out to be of my handwriting: of which

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

† See in vol. II. a paper dated May 23, 1722.

those who seized my papers eight months ago were so little aware, that, though they had then 500 others*, confessedly of my hand-writing, yet they never, upon a comparison of them with this, suspected it to have been written by me; and therefore it was charged in the Report as a letter I had received, which discovered one of the fictitious names that belonged to me. The tables are now turned; and I myself have written this letter to a feigned correspondent, and preserved it among my papers under the original seal, a Tully's head, the same which I have used on other occasions. To what end, my Lords? for the letter itself is an errant trifle, and not worth preserving. Why, to furnish a proof, which was very much wanted, of my answering letters by the hand of Mr. *Johnson*, alias Kelly. Very strange! that I, who am represented as being so cautious on all other occasions, should be so careless on this; and keep such a slight note of my own (the very original under my own hand and seal!) which could be of no use to me, and yet might hurt me so much when discovered. But, in truth, it is not of my hand-writing: I appeal securely to every one that knows it. Had I written it, it is absurd to think that I should use a feigned name only for my correspondent, and mention Mr. Kelly without disguise by the name of *Johnson*, which (as the Committee observe on this very occasion) "was the name by which he constantly went." It has no date of the year, and by the ink seems to have been written many years ago: if above four, it was before I had ever seen the face of Mr. Kelly.

* Q. What became of these? are they yet in being?

As

As to the seal, it is a common one; and that nothing can be inferred from thence, appears from the examinations at your bar, to which I refer myself.

I know not what further can be said on this matter till the Counsel have further explained themselves, and told us what use they intend to make of the experiments about the similitude of seals; which has given your Lordships much trouble, and which, I own, I do not comprehend.

However, this Letter to *Dubois*, as insignificant as it may be in other respects, yet thus far is of use, as it shews the weakness of any charge that is supported by such uncertain conjectures and precarious reasonings. Two schemes have been advanced concerning it, contradicting each other; one of them must, and both may, be false; and whichever of them is true, yet nothing to the disadvantage of the person accused can be built upon either.

The extraordinary step lately taken at the Tower*, in order to discover somewhat that might fortify the conjectures

* House of Lords, April 5. A Petition of the Bishop of Rochester, prisoner in the Tower, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, "That, on Thursday the 4th instant, about three o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Williamson, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower, attended by Mr. Serjeant, the Gentleman Porter, and by two Warders, came up to the Petitioner's room, while he was at dinner; and, having put his two servants under the custody of Warders below, told the Petitioner, 'He must search him.' The Petitioner asked him for his warrant. He answered, 'He had authority from the Ministry;' affirming it upon his salvation; but the Petitioner refused to be searched till he shewed it. He then said, 'He had

conjectures raised on this letter, do, I think, shew that they were not much depended on. Else surely it had not been worth while to endeavour to strengthen them by such an act of illegal violence !

The second article of my charge is, that two letters from Mar and Dillon, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*, were intercepted coming to me. One of them the Counsel for the Bill hath dropped; but I shall consider both of them. That they reached

“ a verbal order ;’ but refused to say from whom. The Petitioner told him, ‘ If it were verbal only, it did not appear to him, and he would not be searched.’ He endeavoured nevertheless to search the Petitioner’s pockets himself by force ; but the Petitioner wrapped his morning-gown about him, and would not suffer him till he shewed his warrant ; which the Petitioner demanded five or six times to no purpose. He then ordered the two Warders attending to come to the Petitioner, and do their duty ; and one of them laid hands upon him, and began to use violence ; and though the Petitioner knocked and called often for his servants, Colonel Williamson said, ‘ They should not,’ nor were they permitted to come near him. Upon this the Petitioner submitted ; and they took every thing out of his pockets, and searched his bureau and desk, and carried away with them two seals. They seized also a paper in the Petitioner’s pocket ; but that being a letter to his Solicitor about the managing of his cause, which the Petitioner thought they could have no pretence to seize while he was under the protection of Parliament, he took it again from them, and tore it ; but they carried a part of it along with them. They searched also his two servants below, and took away a seal from one of them ; and those servants likewise demanded their warrant, but they had none to produce. The Petitioner, therefore, as a Lord of Parliament, though under confinement, humbly prays, that their Lordships would be pleased to take these matters into their serious consideration, and grant him such relief and protection as their Lordships shall judge proper, against such unprecedented, illegal, and insolent usage.”

me,

me, is not affirmed; that I answered them, is not pretended; and is by me, with great truth, denied. Both the letters are mere compliments, without a criminal expression, or a word of business in either of them. They would affect me indeed if received, as the persons supposed to have written them are such with whom I ought to maintain no correspondence. But is that proved, as well as supposed? Is there any evidence concerning the hands in which they were written? Not a word! And yet that seems very necessary in order to ascertain the charge. Any man that pleases may write to me, and take to himself what feigned names he pleases. But I am not answerable for such letters, unless I appear to have received and approved them, and to have kept up the correspondence; nothing of which kind is, in this case, attempted to be made out.

The letter from *Motfield* to *Illington*, of May 11, cannot reasonably be thought to have been written with any other view than that of being intercepted, and of fixing on me the letter of April 20 to *Musgrave*, the receipt of which is there owned; and something is further added, to point out my function and circumstances, and prevent mistakes. This letter is committed to the common post, and sent upon its errand! One may doubt who wrote it; but one cannot doubt with what design it was written. Your Lordships' wisdom will see through these malicious disguises, and not make me accountable for letters thus bandied to and fro in the dark, between two unknown correspondents, on purpose to raise suspicions of a third, who is altogether a stranger to what they are doing.

And here, my Lords, I desire that the observation made by my Counsel may not be forgotten, that, in all the intercepted letters from abroad, the persons that lie hid under fictitious names are scarce ever discovered and pointed out by the addition of such facts and dates, and particular circumstances, as may fasten those names upon them; so that the Committee, though they make a shift to guess, yet are often at a loss to say with any assurance who is meant by them. In my case only the matter is otherwise; for the fictitious names applied to me are attended generally with such descriptions and circumstantial accounts, as may naturally lead those who should intercept the letters to fix on me. The writers of them use their art, not to disguise, but open the scene, and seem to be in pain lest they should not be well enough understood wherever they would have it thought that I am concerned. Now this, being contrary to the methods of reserve practised by them in all other cases, smells strongly of contrivance.

The letter of July 25, from *Dixwell* to *Weston*, is an exception in this case, and not so well contrived as it should have been if I am to be understood by *Weston*. It is written upon the plan of those circumstances I was under two or three months before; which the writer had heard of, and unluckily applied at a juncture when they were altogether improper and impertinent. And though he reached his aim in one respect, that his letter was intercepted, yet he missed it in another; for it does not describe me.

My Lords, these two are the only instances of my being directly concerned in any foreign correspondence.

They

They are not sufficient, when duly considered, even to blast a man's fame: shall they contribute to affect me in so high a manner as is intended?

It remains to be considered in the third place, whether a certain intercepted correspondence between the Pretender's agents abroad [* and Mr. Kelly] was really directed by me; whether I was at the head of it, and am therefore to answer for what is contained in it.

That I am not, Mr. Kelly himself, I hear, has owned at your bar; and declared that he never imparted a line to me of any one letter he wrote to foreign parts: [† and if Mr. Carte was here, he would, I am sure, out of justice to me, and regard to truth, make the like declaration. Since he is not, I can only purge myself of it in the most serious and awful manner, as I will do before I finish what I have to say to your Lordships.] I meddle not with what concerns him, any farther than it may be thought to affect me. And the chief instance of that kind which occurs, is the present of the dog, said to be made to Mr. Jones or Mrs. Illington.

The true account of that matter is, that in a letter to Hatfield, May 5th, from one who signs 918 (interpreted *Mar*) are these words: "The little dog was sent ten days ago, and ordered to be delivered to you." But there is no intimation in this, or any other letter from abroad, that the present was intended

* Originally, [and some persons *here*, and attributed partly to Mr. Kelly, and partly to Mr. Carte, on *this side*, was really, &c.]

† This passage is crossed out in the Bishop's copy.

further. In two other letters from hence (by whom written does not yet appear) somebody is mentioned, under the different names of Mr. *Jones* and Mrs. *Illington*; in such a manner as if the present had been designed for that person: but with such absurd circumstances as are neither applicable to my wife nor me. Particularly, May 7, in a letter from *Hatfield*, it is said, "Mrs. Illington is in great tribulation for poor "Harlequin;" which, being five days after the burial of my wife, cannot mean her; and, being but five days after it, can as little mean me, considering the melancholy circumstances I was then under. So that the writer of this letter must either have known nothing of my family affairs; or, if he did, must have dissembled his knowledge of them, in order to raise a suspicion of me with relation to this present. And in either case, what he says is not to be regarded.

The French surgeon and Mr. Kelly, who only know any thing of this matter, clear me. Mrs. Barnes has varied in her evidence; and has sometimes affirmed, and sometimes denied, that the dog was for me. And the most she has ever said on that head is, that Mr. Kelly once told her so. For myself, I can with all truth and seriousness say, that I never asked, received, or saw this present, nor know any thing of it but from common fame; nor have I to this day had any letter or message whatever, from any one, concerning it.

The aim of this little contrivance seems to have been to point me out as the person to whom the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, subscribed to the letters of April 20, belonged; by using them again on the occasion of
this

this present, and taking care so to manage the whole as that it should become matter of public discourse. And perhaps they were not much in the wrong, who thought that one intercepted *dog* might be as useful to this purpose as ten intercepted *letters*. However, both ways were tried; and must have succeeded, had I not been able to prove that those letters were not written by my order, or with my knowledge. And therefore the use of such names in subsequent letters is only a continuance of the fraud thus begun; and the latter is easily accounted for, when once we are satisfied of the former.

And this observation runs through the whole of this correspondence, wherever the names of *Jones* and *Il-lington* occur. To apply these to me because they are said to belong to me in the letters of April 20, is to beg the very point that is denied; and has not only been denied, but disproved with all manner of evidence and clearness.

My Counsel have shewn, that some things said of *Jones* in (what is called) the intercepted correspondence are to the last degree absurd when applied to me. And no one would ever have thus applied them, but upon a supposition that I dictated the letter of April 20, to which the name of *Jones* is subscribed. That supposition is destroyed, and with it every thing falls that depends altogether upon it.

I can add little to what my Counsel have said concerning the other feigned names of *Rig* and *Weston*; and shall not trouble your Lordships with mere repetitions. It has been shewn that what is said of these in some instances cannot possibly mean me; if in other

obscure passages I am designed by those names (which I neither admit nor deny), the writers of such letters, when discovered, can best explain their own meaning: it is all a riddle to me; and till I am proved to have been privy to this correspondence (which can never be done) the solution of it no way concerns me. The coincidence of my journeys to and from Bromley, with the accounts given by the writers of these letters, was the point principally relied on to prove that they had frequent access to me, and therefore probably wrote by my advice and direction. But your Lordships have heard it made out (and because it is very material I shall briefly repeat it), that of seven instances of this kind insisted on in the report, three are manifest mistakes; two only of the accounts are exact; and two others may be right or wrong, as the words are explained in this or that meaning. And had they all been exact, yet nothing could have been inferred from them, because it was easy for the person who managed this transaction here to get an account of my motions from my neighbours and servants, in order to render his contrivance the more plausible and probable.

That Mr. Kelly is no stranger to me, I own: but that he is in any degree intimate with me, or frequently saw me, I deny. Or what evidence is there for it, but the idle tales of Mrs. Levet? or how is his solemn denial of it at your bar contradicted? Mrs. Kilburn says he was once to have dined with me: what then? Flower the chairman says, he carried him twice or thrice to the Deanry about four years ago, but never found me at home. I believe what he says is false; but admit it

Vanlear the porter says, he brought a letter and some stockings from Mr. Kelly to me at the Deanry, and carried once a sealed note from me back again to him, about Christmas was a twelvemonth. The foundation of this story is true, that Mr. Kelly furnished me with beaver-stockings and gloves; and therefore I shall not dispute what he says; though that circumstance of a porter's coming up to me, at the dirtiest time of the year, into my bed-chamber, is very extraordinary. And even this evidence owns, that though he was the person that constantly went on Mr. Kelly's errands when he was in the way, yet he never was sent by him but twice to me in some years.

There is no proof besides, but the late recollections of Mrs. Lever, since she was aspersed as a woman of an ill fame by Mrs. Barnes before the House of Commons, and has had perhaps other inducements to whet her memory, which yet goes no further than to cite Mrs. Barnes for what she says Mrs. Barnes told her from Kelly. And it is observable, that in the same deposition she quotes the same authority for 200 persons being sent out of the way, to prevent their discovering somewhat; and she insinuates that they were murdered: for that, I think, is the natural meaning of their never seeing the light again. I suppose, one part of her deposition is just as true as the other. Now, on the other side, there is the evidence of all my servants, and others, who have upon oath attested that they do not know either the name or face of Mr. Kelly, which could not possibly be if he used frequently to resort to me.

[The

[* The same they say of Mr. Carte. Indeed a brother † of his, for whom, at the instance of a noble Lord, I procured a living from the Chapter of Westminster, saw me often for two or three years last past; but Mr. Carte the Nonjuror very rarely.]

Such a slight acquaintance as I had with either of them could be no temptation to enter into secrets of such a dangerous consequence as those which the Report supposes to have passed between us. They must know little either of them or me, that could suspect such a thing of me!

However, suspicion is not now the business, but proof. They that prove something may be allowed to suspect more: but they that prove nothing have no right to indulge their endless suspicions and conjectures to the ruin of any man; for twenty probabilities, allowed to be such, are not equal to one plain matter of fact well attested. They may strengthen the testimony of a living witness; but they cannot rise up to the force of it. They cannot of themselves be evidence, either in law or reason; because one set of probabilities may be opposed by another, and, at that rate, the mind of the judge must for ever be kept in suspense. I use this distinction between evidence in law, and evidence in reason; because the Counsel for the bill seem to have resorted to something like it; whereas I always thought that the public law of the state was the public reason of the state, and that whatever might be reasonable

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

† John Carte, M. A. instituted Vicar of Hinckley, Dec. 20, 1720; died Sept. 17, 1735. See an account of him in the "History of Hinckley;" p. 180.

evidence in another country (though in my conscience the evidence brought against me would be thought reasonable in none), yet in this country no evidence could be reasonable that was not legal.

But I ask, by what sort of evidence, either in law or reason, the accusation brought against me has been maintained?

How am I proved, in the

First place, "To have traiterously consulted and
 "corresponded with divers persons, to raise an
 "insurrection and rebellion against his Majesty
 "within this kingdom, and to procure a foreign
 "force to invade the same, in order to depose
 "his Majesty, and place the Pretender on his
 "Throne?"

How am I proved, in the

Second place, "To have traiterously corresponded
 "with the said Pretender, and persons employed
 "by him, knowing them to be so employed?"

Is there one article of either of these charges made out against me, I say not in the due forms of law, but with any colour of reason? Is any one otherwise supported than by suppositions without proof, nay by suppositions actually disproved, and shewn to be vain and groundless? If the proof brought in all these cases wants strength, can the hearsays of Neynoe afford it any, which do themselves, above all other parts of the Report, want to be proved, and rendered credible?

Neynoe pretended not (for aught appears) to know any thing of me: he only quotes Mr. Kelly for his
 in.

intelligencer. Mr. Kelly absolutely denies it; and there is nobody else to back it. I think such a dead evidence cannot affect Mr. Kelly himself; much less can it affect me through him, when he declares he never said any such things. Were Neynoe now alive, and Mr. Kelly dead, and incapable of contradicting him, what Neynoe pretended to have by hearsay only from Kelly would not sure be of much weight. Shall what Neynoe, now dead, says against a third person, and Kelly now living contradicts, be thought of any moment?

Concerning hearsay evidence in general, and there-gard that is due to it, I desire your Lordships a passage may be read out of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder. [N. B. the whole preamble read.] There it is recited, as one of the inducements that moved the King, Lords, and Commons, to pass that act, that "he had contrived
 "and framed false and scandalous papers as his infor-
 "mations, reflecting on the fidelity of several noble
 "Peers, divers Members of the House of Commons,
 "and others, only by hearsay." Shall that be accepted in this Parliament for evidence, which is declared to have been one motive for attainting a man in another? If it were an aggravation of Sir John Fenwick's guilt to have charged other men by hearsay, shall the being thus charged be any proof of mine? Surely that House of Commons in 1696, which brought in the bill, would not have thought so; nor will those of your Lordships so think, that consented (here or elsewhere) to the passing of it. And as for those who did not consent to it, I may venture to say that they will be exceedingly puzzled to find a reason why they opposed Sir John
 Fen.

Penwick's bill, and yet favour the passing of this. Is the guilt objected to me, if it could be proved, in any measure like his? or is there any comparison between the proof made against him, and that by which I am attacked, so as to make it unreasonable in his case, and reasonable in mine, to supply the defects of such proof by an act of Parliament? But I return to Neynoe, into whose character and credibility it is needless to enquire, after the concurrent testimony of those five witnesses which appeared at your Lordships' bar on Thursday last. And even without their assistance, the very papers of informations given in by Neynoe, and printed in the Appendix, are sufficient to satisfy us of his character. It is plain he was prepared to have sworn backwards and forwards; to have affirmed or denied any thing. He was let into all secrets, if you will believe him. He knew "that a certain Lord of the Council gave me "notice of my being to be taken up, some days "before it happened;" he knew even "to what "use and purpose the protests of your Lordships in the "last session were chiefly designed and calculated;" and, as appears from the paper found in his pocket after his death, had undertaken to give an account of it. I wonder much that persons of good discernment should think it worth their while either to ask or to receive such accounts from him; or even to print the paper wherein that monstrous article is contained, because it suggests a reflection, which, though it touches me nearly, I care not to explain. He was the late Earl Marischal's bedfellow for several nights; from him he received heads, and upon them drew up three several memorials

to

to the Regent. It happened unfortunately that he kept no copy of these heads, nor the foul draughts of such memorials, which it imported him in the highest degree to have done, whether he then intended to go on in the way he was in of promoting the conspiracy, or to discover it. In either case, the evidence of his having been thus employed would have been of great service to him. But he was not able to produce a line of such heads or memorials; and yet the Report of the House of Commons upon the basis of these memorials builds the whole fabric of the conspiracy.

He knew, what nobody else ever knew, that I have lain hid under the name of *Naunton*; and would doubtless have known who my correspondent *Dubois* was, had the scheme of my writing that letter myself been then thought of. He would have found out a reason for my corresponding with the Cardinal of that name; and £. 500. would have made him affirm that he carried the letter himself; though, perhaps, afterwards he would not have stood to his word!

He knew the Pretender's particular opinion of me—or of any body else if it had been thought fit to ask him—"that he relied upon advices from me more than "from any man." How did he know it? Kelly told him so. But who told Kelly this? for it is not to be supposed that a man of Mr. Kelly's rank had it from the Pretender himself, but from persons of an high station, and nearer to the Pretender. Let us consider, once for all, how this part of Neynoe's evidence must stand upon the foot of a certain paper in the Appendix (E 8.), intituled, "Notes taken by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,"

"quer," &c. A right honourable person hears Neynoe say, that he had heard Kelly say, what he must have heard persons of greater figure say, that they had heard the Pretender say, concerning the Bishop of Rochester. And by this chain of hearsays, thus deduced, am I proved to be a sort of First Minister to the Pretender.

[* And this is to be offered as evidence to your Lordships; and if it be not received, you must either condemn me without any, or acquit me. For there is not an hearsay beside this, and such as these from Neynoe, against me; except one other from Pancier, about the military chest, which has been already considered.]

Let me speak, my Lords, (always, I hope, with that modesty which becomes an accused person, but yet) with the freedom of an Englishman. Had nothing been opened to you concerning this man's character and secret transactions, could you possibly have believed the romantic tales he has told? Could this pretender to secrets have had, or shall he still have, any weight with your Lordships, who threw away his life rather than venture to stand to the truth of what he had said? shall this man do more mischief by his death than he could have done if living? for then he could have been confronted, puzzled and confounded; shame and consciousness might have made him unsay what he had said. But a dead man can retract nothing. "What he has written he has written:" the accusation must stand just as it is; and we are deprived of the advantages of those confessions, which truth and remorse had once extorted, and would again have extorted from him.

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

How

However, I should have been glad to have had all that even this witness said; and would have hoped that, by a comparison of the several parts of the story he at several times told, some light might have been gained that is now wanting; particularly by the knowledge of what he said freely and voluntarily, and in good humour, before his rough usage upon his return from Deal had frightened him into new confession. But I think we have the evidence only of a few of the last days of his life. All the preceding time, when he was most in favour and confidence with a great man, is a blank; we have no account of it; and yet it is said he underwent frequent examinations during that time. But they were not, it seems, so maturely weighed and digested as to be thought worth being committed to writing.

But he is gone to his place, and has answered for what he has said at another tribunal. I desire not to blemish his character any farther than is absolutely necessary to my own just defence, which I shall now pursue farther, by considering,

First, the inconsistency of some parts of the charge brought against me, and then the utter improbability of it.

The Report takes notice of three several branches, or stages, of the conspiracy; the first, which (in consequence of some memorials to the Regent) was to have taken place during the elections; the second, upon the King's going to Hanover; the third, upon the breaking-up of the encampment.

There is not an hint of my guilt as to the last of these three designs, in any paper whatsoever; and yet
the

the recitals of the bill mention this third branch of the plot, and that most detestable part of it, the intention of "laying violent hands on his Majesty;" and charge me afterwards with the whole. And the Counsel for the bill have opened it (very gravely) with an account of Mr. Laver's scheme, as if I had some concern in it, without offering the least proof to that purpose. These may be, for aught I know, the forms of law usual in such charges; but surely they are in themselves cruel artifices, to involve a man in the appearances of guilt, where there is not the least colour or pretence for charging him.

Indeed of the first branch of the conspiracy, which was to have taken place during the elections, I am supposed by the Committee (Report, p. 3.) not to have been ignorant. The only argument for my guilt in that case is a passage in the letter to *Jackson*, April 20, 1722, where it is said, "the present opportunity is elapsed;" i. e. (say the Committee out of the plenitude of their interpreting power) the opportunity of the elections, most of which were then over.

To clear this point, and withal to shew how inconsistent the several parts of my accusation are, I shall recite the entire passage, as it lies in that letter, and make some reflections upon it.

"Notwithstanding this opportunity is elapsed," says the Writer to *Jackson*, "I agree with you, another may offer before the end of the year, though not perhaps every way so favourable." The Committee suppose this to have been a letter to the Pretender, and they suppose this letter to have been dictated by me, and

They suppose these words of it to refer to the time of the elections; and from these three suppositions infer, that I knew somewhat of a design then to take place. On the contrary, I shall, even upon the two first of these suppositions, shew that it is impossible the last of the three, and the inference drawn from thence, should hold.

If this were a letter from me (or from any one) to the Pretender, it must have been in answer to one from him; repeating his very expressions, and agreeing with his opinion there declared, "that a certain opportunity "was elapsed." And his opinion expressed in that letter must have been founded on intelligence before received from England; which intelligence, considering the distance between London and Rome, must have been communicated from hence two months at least, if not longer, before the date of these letters of April 20; and if we go back two months from April 20, the opportunity of the elections was then so far from being elapsed, that it was not in some time to happen. Consequently the opportunity hinted at in that letter of April 20 (whatever it meant) could not possibly mean the time of the elections, if this letter was (as the Committee not only suppose, but affirm) a letter to, and in answer to one written from the Pretender.

My Lords, I am not now proving that this was not a letter to the Pretender, nor written by me (those two points have been so well settled already by my Counsel as to need no further clearing); but I am observing to your Lordships (as I have a right to do) how inconsistent the charge is; since, if this had been a letter to the
Pre-

Pretender, it is impossible that these words of it should refer to the time of the elections; and again, if these words of it do refer to that time, it is impossible this should have been a letter to the Pretender.

The inconsistency of the charge may also from the same passage of this letter be manifested in another respect. For the person writing it April 20 (if it be a letter written in good earnest) appears to have then given over all thoughts of any new opportunity that should offer, till towards the end of the year. ["I agree with you," says he, "another opportunity may offer before the end of the year."] And yet the Committee find some words in a letter written ten days afterwards [May 1], wherein the Bishop, under the feigned name of *Jones*, is supposed to be making some military preparations, and deeply engaged in that second branch of the conspiracy, which, they say, was designed upon the King's going to Hanover.

How do these things consist? If I wrote or dictated that Letter of April 20, I could not be engaged in the second branch of the conspiracy then under agitation; if I was engaged in it, how can I be imagined to have written that letter? Both cannot be true, yet both are charged. But both may be false: and I hope I have satisfied your Lordships that, as I did not dictate the one, so I was no ways concerned in the other. Can any one believe that I was, who reflects on the sad circumstances I was then under? Afflicted by the death of my wife not yet interred, and deprived of the use of all my limbs by a severe fit of the gout? was that a time for "*Jones* to provide himself" (as the phrase is)

“with an easy saddle?” [* was that a time for him to be in “great tribulation for poor Harlequin,” as the correspondent here, whoever he was, expresses it?] is there a man so far under the power of prejudice as to believe that such expressions, at such a juncture, are applicable to me? I forbear further instances, though they are numerous; but I am naturally led by this instance to consider the improbability (as well as inconsistency) of the charge brought against me: for, my Lords, since I am charged, without positive proof, by probabilities alone, you will, I doubt not, allow me to answer my indictment in the same manner it is laid, and to set one collection of probabilities against another.

Is it probable, my Lords, that, if I were engaged in any such design, no footsteps should appear of any correspondence I have had with the late Duke of Ormond, to whom, of all the persons now abroad, I was best known, and for whom I had the greatest regard, and still have all the regard which is consistent with my duty to my King and my Country?

Is it probable that I should choose rather to engage thus deeply with two persons, one of which I never saw, and with the other I was but very slightly acquainted when he left England? Did I not know, what all the world knew, that he had left the Pretender's service now for many years, and was supported by a pension from hence? Was this a season for me to enter into confidence with him about restoring the Pretender? and to do this, not by messages, but letters; and those sent, not by express, but by the common post;

* This sentence is crossed out in the Bishop's copy.

and

and containing such accounts of my circumstances and condition at that time (the most remarkable period of all my life) as, if my letters should be intercepted, would go a good way towards fixing them upon me? that, by thus writing to him by the post, I should, as it were, invite him to write to me in the same manner, and by that means furnish new opportunities towards detecting the design, and bringing myself into danger?

How, upon this supposition, does that character of caution and wariness under which I am represented, at all belong to me? Must I not have been the most rash and indiscreet of all men, if I laid myself open to detection in so foolish a manner? Was I secure, and thought I should not be watched and observed? It is plain, from a postscript to one of those letters, that the Writer of them (whoever he was) thought otherwise. Could a man write that P. S. wherein he "resolves to send nothing by the post," and yet send that very letter by the post? Is it not much more probable that the artful Writer intended by this means to account for the non-interception of any letters from the same person afterwards? This is a consistent scheme; the other is a wild absurdity!

Is it probable that, when I was attending the sick-bed of my wife, and was expecting her death not only daily but hourly, I should enter into negotiations of that kind, and never after, when I was more at ease and liberty, resume them?

There was no need of dispatching at that time any one of these three letters. The matter of them required no expedition. They are mere excuses for not

writing; and had I been the inditer, the known circumstances of my family and health would have been a sufficient excuse for my silence; and a third hand would as effectually and more decently have conveyed that excuse.

Is it probable that, when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds at Westminster and Bromley*; when I was consulting all the books of the Church of Westminster † from the foundation; and was engaged also in a correspondence with two learned men ‡ about a subject of great use and equal difficulty, the settling the times of writing the Four Gospels; that I should at that very time be directing and carrying on a conspiracy? He that can entertain such a thought of me

* See p. 425.

† On the subject of the Dormitory; see vol. II. p. 114. Mr. Addison, Spectator, N^o 447, referring to our Author's researches in the Convocation controversy, says, "I have heard one of the greatest Geniuses this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite studies of antiquity, assure me, upon his being obliged to search into several rolls and records, that, notwithstanding such an employment was at first very dry and irksome to him, he at last took an incredible pleasure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero."

‡ The then Bishop of Oxford Dr. Potter, and Dr. Wall. The correspondence is preserved in the present collection, vol. II. p. 122, et seqq. The same subject the Bishop pursued during his exile, having consulted the Learned of all nations, and had nearly brought the whole to a conclusion when he died. These laudable labours are an ample confutation of Bishop Newton's rash assertion, "that Atterbury wrote little whilst in exile, but a few criticisms on French Authors." See p. 448.

without

without reason, may also condemn me without a witness; and arguments will signify nothing to him.

Is it probable that I should hold meetings and consultations to form and forward this conspiracy, and yet nobody living know where, when, and with whom, they were held? that I, who lived always at home, and never (when at the Deanry) stirred out of one room, where I received all company promiscuously, and denied not myself to any, should have opportunities of concerting such matters; or, if I had, yet that none of my domestics, or friends with whom I most familiarly lived, should ever observe any appearances of this kind? that, if I had been in these measures, no evidence of it would have been found in my papers, which were all at once seized at both my houses, and sifted with the utmost exactness? that, after above eight months imprisonment, and above twelve months diligent enquiry into my conduct and correspondence, my friendships and acquaintances; after confining all my men-servants (but one) now for seven weeks, and searching me twice in the Tower itself, in order to make new discoveries; nothing of consequence should appear against me, nor any one living witness charge me with any thing really criminal?

Is it probable that I should form a direct conspiracy, that was to be carried on by force of arms, and to owe all its success to the operations of war, with which I am no more acquainted than I am with the persons fit to be employed on those occasions? My way of life has not led me to be conversant with such men and such matters: I have sat in Chapters, in Convocations, in

Parliaments; but in a Council of War I never sat, much less was at the head of it.

Have I ever yet, in any one instance of my life, meddled remarkably out of my own sphere, in affairs that were foreign to my employments and character, and of which I could be no competent judge? I may have been thought perhaps too active in my proper stations and business: but I was never charged with interposing in matters with which I was no ways acquainted, and must have appeared ridiculous in pretending to conduct.

Is it not rather probable that such a Military scheme (if there were any such) should have been formed and directed by men of the sword, though they yet remain undiscovered? Must the whole accusation and punishment, without proof and without probability, center in me, whose profession and way of life sets me at the greatest distance from such designs, and from the suspicion of being concerned in them?

And yet I must be the sacrifice, and suffer almost all the pains and penalties (short of death) which a Parliament can inflict, for a supposed scheme of War, which I do not to this day comprehend; and for which, as far as it appears, I think the men concerned should be rather pitied as madmen, than punished as traitors.

Here is a plot of a year or two's standing, to subvert this Government by force of arms. Military preparations are said to have been made for it. There was to be an invasion from abroad, an insurrection and rebellion at home. Just when it was ripe for execution, it is discovered; and, after a twelve-month's search for
the

the contrivers and conductors of this scheme, no consultations appear to have been held, no money to have been raised, and (which is stranger) no arms, officers, or soldiers, to have been provided. Not a man of the Army is engaged in it: a poor Bishop has done all, and must suffer for it.

What could tempt me, my Lords, thus to step out of my way? Was it ambition, and a desire of climbing into an higher station in the Church? There was not a man of my order further removed from views of this kind than I am. I have an hundred times said (and sincerely resolved) that I would be nothing more than I was (at a time when I little thought of being less) whatever turns of state should happen; and I could give an instance of this kind (if it were proper) that would shew I was in earnest.

Was money my aim? I always despised it: too much perhaps, considering the occasion I may now have for it. Out of a poor Bishoprick of £. 500. a year (for it has been clearly worth no more to me) I did in eight years time lay out £. 2000. upon the house and the appurtenances; and because I knew the circumstances in which my predecessor left his family, I took not one shilling for dilapidations from his executors. And the rest of my income has all been spent as that of a Bishop should be spent (pardon, my Lords, the freedom of the expression) in hospitality and charity. Nor do I repine at that expence even now; not questioning in the least but that God, who has provided for me

* See vol. II. pp. 3, 4.

hitherto,

hitherto, will provide for me still; and on his Providence I securely depend.

Was I influenced by any dislike of the Established Religion? any secret inclinations towards Popery, a Church of greater pomp and power? Malice has ventured even thus far to asperse me. My Lords, ever since I knew what Popery was, I disliked it; and the better I knew it, the more I opposed it. I began my studies in Divinity (when the Popish controversy grew hot) with the immortal work of Mr. Chillingworth, which I have read from that day to this, with new pleasure, and without satiety. He is no narrow-spirited writer, but the buckler of the Protestant cause in general, and as such I esteemed him above all others. You will pardon me, my Lords, if I add (what would come ill from my mouth if I had not reason to purge myself from these foolish reflections) that thirty-seven years ago I wrote in the defence of Martin Luther, the great champion of the Reformation; and am perhaps the only Divine, or Member of this Church, that has defended him in a treatise * expressly writ for that purpose, from the infancy of the Reformation to this day. And whatever happens to me, my Lords, I will suffer any thing, and would (by God's grace) burn at a stake, rather than, in any material point, depart from the Protestant Religion as professed in the Church of England.

Once more, my Lords, can I be suspected as entering into any such designs, from any principles I had imbibed, favourable to Arbitrary Power, and destructive

* See this Tract at large in the present volume, pp. 12, et seqq.
of

of liberty? The whole tenor of my life speaks otherwise. I was always a friend to the liberty of the subject, and, to the best of my power, a constant maintainer of it. I may have been mistaken perhaps in the measures I took for its support, at junctures when it was thought expedient for the state to seem to neglect public liberty, in order, I suppose, to secure it. But this error (if it were one) was only a misapplication of the principle which I always steadily and unvariably pursued: while I saw others, who would be thought the great patrons of Liberty, undermining the very foundation of it.

Names may alter; but *things* continue always the same. I have not mattered by what party-term I was called, so my actions were uniform and of a piece.

To return therefore to the point, from which I may seem to have digressed.

The charge brought against me, and in the manner it is brought, is, under all the views we can take of it, improbable and incredible. If I could be guilty of it, I must have acted under a spirit of infatuation; and yet I have not been hitherto thought an idiot or a mad-man.

My Lords, as to the pains and penalties contained in this bill, they are great and grievous beyond example to a man in my circumstances. I find them no where but in the act for banishing the Earl of Clarendon, nor even there in the same extent either as to their nature or duration: for it is particularly provided by that act, that the pains and penalties of it should cease, if by a day prefixed the Earl rendered himself to justice. I am here, my Lords, and have been here expecting for

eight months my Legal Trial. Was ever any man, in the same case, banished by act of Parliament? Upon an impeachment by the House of Commons, that noble Earl fled; and with reason, as the temper of the times then was: however, he fled. I have declined no impeachment, no due course of law that might have been taken; and yet I am to be banished. A correspondence indeed with that Earl was made treason; with me it is only felony; that is, one witness may prove such a correspondence, with me; had treason been the consequence, two would have been requisite. He was allowed an intercourse with his children by the express words of the act. Mine are not so much as to write or send any message to me without a sign manual.

And what is most particular in my case (I will speak it distinctly, that my Right Reverend Brethren may hear it), I am rendered, as far as the Civil Power can render me, incapable of “using or exercising any office, “function, authority, or power, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, whatsoever,” not only in any of his Majesty’s dominions (no such limitation is expressed), but for aught I can find any where in Christendom; as if I held such Spiritual powers, not from Christ himself, but by the authority, and at the pleasure, of an Act of Parliament.

Why should I dwell on the other parts of my punishment which agree with his? or trouble your Lordships with pleas for mitigation? I insist on my innocence; my real as well as legal innocence: that I am not guilty; and, if I were, am not proved so.

If

If your Lordships thus judge, I am sure you will quash the bill; for you are just. If you shall judge otherwise, yet I persuade myself you will temper it; for you are merciful. You will not strip a man of his subsistence, and then send him where he cannot subsist. You will not first exercise severity upon him yourselves, and then hinder others from performing any acts of common humanity towards him. You will have the goodness, at least, not to bar the King from shewing his, if and when he shall see occasion; nor render his Majesty to any one of his poor subjects less the image of God than he is: for that resemblance consists more in pardoning than punishing.

The Great Man I mentioned carried a great fortune along with him into a foreign country: he had languages, was well acquainted abroad, and spent the best part of his years in exile, and was therefore every way qualified to support it. The reverse of all this is my fate. Indeed I am like him in nothing but his innocence and his punishment. It is in no man's power to make us differ in the one; it is in your Lordships to distinguish us widely in the other; and I hope you will do it.

But to sum up the argument.

Our Law has taken care that there should be a more clear and full proof of Treason than of any other crime whatsoever. And reasonable it is, that a crime attended with the highest penalties should be made out by the clearest and fullest evidence. And yet here is a charge of high treason brought against me, not only without full evi-

dence, but without any evidence at all, that is, any such evidence as the law of the land knows and allows. And what is not evidence at law (pardon me what I am going to say) can never be made such, in order to punish what is past, but by a violation of the law: for the law which prescribes the nature of the proof required, is as much the law of the land, as that which declares the crime; and both must join to convict a man of guilt. And it seems equally unjust to declare any sort of proof legal, which was not so before a prosecution commenced for any act done, as it would be to declare the act itself *ex-post-facto* to be criminal.

Now there never was a charge of so high a nature so strongly pressed, and so weakly supported—supported, not by any living or dead witness, speaking from his own knowledge, but by mere hearsays and reports from others; contradicted by the very persons from whom they are said to be derived—supported not by any one criminal deed proved to have been done, not by any one criminal line proved to have been either written or received, not even by any one criminal word proved to have been spoken by me; but by intercepted letters in a correspondence, to which it appears not that I was, and to which it is certain that I was not privy; some of these letters shewn to have been contrived with a design of fastening them upon me, as a foundation of the scheme which was to follow; others written with the same view, employing the same fictitious names, and throwing out dark and suspicious hints, concerning the
persons

persons meant by those names, and endeavouring by little facts and circumstances, sometimes true, sometimes doubtful, and often false, to point out that person to such as should intercept those letters, who continues all this time a stranger to the whole transaction, and never makes the discovery till he feels it, and finds it advanced into a solemn accusation; till "the pestilence that walked in darkness becomes the arrow that flyeth by noon-day."

[* This, my Lords, is a true account of those proofs by which the charge of high treason against me is maintained. And if such proofs, in such a case, be admitted, what man is safe? who is there that these decyphers and copyers may not have in their power? who that may not at this rate, by two persons, placed one at Paris, and the other at London, and informing themselves of his motions and circumstances, be writ into a plot, and out of his fortunes, liberty, honour, and life itself; and be all the while innocent, and ignorant of what is doing?]

My Lords, this is my case; I have shewed it so to be; though I had the hard task upon me of proving a negative, and had no other lights to guide me but those the Report affords. And shall I stand convicted before your Lordships upon such an evidence as this? by the hearsay of an hearsay (for this often is the case), and that denied by the very person into whose testimony all must be resolved; by strained reasonings and inferences, from obscure passages, and fictitious names in letters, the contents of which were entirely a secret to me, till I

* This paragraph is crossed over in the Bishop's copy.

saw them in print : by the conjectures of decyphers, without any opportunity given me (though I humbly asked it) to examine into the truth of their explanations ; by the depositions of post-office clerks about the similitude of hands, some of which have been formerly known to be the most dextrous counterfeiters of them ; and these depositions made at many months distance from the time of their seeing the first letters, and without comparing any one of the originals they copied with another ; by little surmises and probabilities, built on a false bottom, and which (that foundation being shaken) must appear altogether improbable ; by attempts to render me suspected of suspicion of treason, for nothing more, I am persuaded, can be made of the arguments drawn from what is called “ the intercepted correspondence ? ”

✓ Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of all that is valuable to an Englishman (for in the circumstances to which I am to be reduced, life itself is scarce valuable) by such an evidence as this ! such an evidence as would not be admitted in any other cause, in any other court ; nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a Jew in the Inquisitions of Spain or Portugal ; shall it be received against me, a Bishop of this Church, and a Member of this House, in a charge of high treason brought in the High Court of Parliament ? God forbid !

Suffer me, my Lords, (I know you will suffer me) to put you all (and particularly my Right Reverend Brethren) in mind of a text of Holy Writ : “ Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses.” It is not said, Condemn him not upon

upon an unsupported accusation; but, receive it not, give it no countenance or encouragement. And I am somewhat more than an Elder as the word there imports. Shall an accusation be received against me, without any one witness to maintain it! My Lords, this is not a direction merely for Ecclesiastical Judicatories; it was taken by St. Paul from the Civil and Judicial part of the Law of Moses. For there we read, "One witness shall not rise up against a man for any iniquity, or any sin that he sinneth: at the mouth of two witnesses, or at the mouth of three witnesses, shall the matter be established." And as this rule was transplanted from the State into the Church by an inspired authority; so would it be no blemish to any Christian State, if they always thought fit to follow it in such cases as this now before your Lordships. The Laws of this Christian State have actually followed it, and made two witnesses necessary in accusations of treason. Shall I be the first Bishop of this Church prosecuted and condemned upon two or three hearsays, two or three conjectures about names, and obscure passages in letters, instead of two or three witnesses? and will they who are most concerned to resist this precedent, contribute to make it, and to derive the sad influence of it to all succeeding times; and even concur in such an act on such an evidence, to render me incapable of "using or exercising any office, function, authority, or power Ecclesiastical or Spiritual whatsoever?" Is this either good divinity or good policy? "I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say."

Doubtless the Legislature is without bounds. It may do what it pleases; and whatever it does is binding. Nay, in some respects it has greater power (with reverence be it spoken) than the Sovereign Legislator of the Universe; for he can do nothing unjustly! But though no limits can be set to Parliaments, yet they have generally thought fit to prescribe limits to themselves; and so to guide even their proceedings by bill in criminal cases, as to depart as little as is possible from the known laws and usages of the realm. The Parliament may, if it pleases, by a particular act, order a criminal to be tortured who will not confess; for who shall gainsay them? But they never did it; nor, I presume, ever will; because torture, though practised in other countries, is unknown in ours, and repugnant to the temper and genius of our mild and free Government: and yet, my Lords, it looks, methinks, somewhat like torture, to inflict grievous pains and penalties on a person only suspected of guilt, but not legally proved guilty, in order to extort some confession or discovery from him. This, in other countries, is called putting to the question; and it matters not much by what engines or method such an experiment is made.

The Parliament may (if it pleases) by an express law adjudge a man to absolute perpetual imprisonment, as well as to perpetual exile; without reserving to the Crown any power of determining such imprisonment. They have enacted the one; I find not they ever enacted the other. And the reason seems to have been, because our Law, which above all others provides for the liberty
of

of the subject's person, knows nothing of such absolute perpetual imprisonment.

The Parliament may in like manner condemn a man upon a charge of accumulative and constructive treason. They did so once, in the case of the Earl of Strafford; but they repented of it afterwards, and ordered "all the records and proceedings of Parliament relating thereto to be wholly cancelled, defaced, and obliterated, to the intent the same might not be visible in after-ages, or brought into example to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." My Lords, it was the fate of that great person thus to fall by accumulative and constructive treason. A much less now stands before you, who is attacked by accumulative and constructive proofs of his guilt; that is, by such proofs as in themselves, and when taken single and apart, are allowed to prove nothing; but when taken together, and well interpreted and explained, are said to give mutual light and strength to each other, and by the help of certain inferences and deduction to have the force, though not the formality, of legal evidence. Will such proofs be ever admitted by your Lordships, in order to deprive a fellow-subject of his fortunes, his fame, his friends, and his country, and send him in his old age, without language, without limbs, without health, and without a provision for the necessaries of life, to live, or rather starve, amongst foreigners? I say again, God forbid!

My ruin is not of that moment to any man, or any number of men, as to make it worth their while to violate (or even *seem* to violate) the constitution in any degree to procure it. In preserving and guarding *that* against all

attempts, the safety and the happiness of every Englishman lies. But when once, by such extraordinary steps as these, we depart from the fixed rules and forms of justice, and try untrodden paths, no man knows whither they will lead him, or where he shall be able to stop, when pressed by the crowd that follow him.

Though I am worthy of no regard; though whatever is done to me may be looked upon as just; yet your Lordships will have some regard to your own lasting interests, and those of the State; and not introduce into criminal cases a sort of evidence with which our constitution is not acquainted, and which, under the appearance of supporting it at first, may be afterwards made use of (I speak my honest fears) gradually to undermine and destroy it.

For God's sake, my Lords, lay aside these extraordinary proceedings! set not these new and dangerous precedents! And I for my part will voluntarily and cheerfully go into perpetual exile, and please myself with the thought that I have in some measure preserved the constitution by quitting my country; and I will live, wherever I am, praying for its prosperity, and die with the words of Father Paul in my mouth, which he used of the Republic of Venice, "*Esto perpetua!*" The way to perpetuate it is, not to depart from it. Let *me* depart; but let *that* continue fixed on the immoveable foundations of Law and Justice, and stand for ever.

I have, my Lords, taken up much of your time; and yet I must still beg your attention. Some parts of my accusation have been disproved by direct and full evidence; particularly that of my writing the three letters
of

of April 20, or even knowing who writ them; which I utterly deny that I ever did, or even now do know. And yet this is the foundation of the whole. Other parts of my charge there are, not in their nature capable of such a direct disproof, nor indeed requiring it, as being no way supported by what deserves the name of evidence. And here therefore I was chiefly obliged to rest on the utter improbability of the charge; which, I hope, has been duly manifested. But, my Lords, there is still a way left of vindicating myself in cases where a general negative cannot be otherwise cleared; and that is, by protesting and declaring my innocence to your Lordships in the most deliberate, serious, and solemn manner, and appealing to God, the Searcher of hearts, for the truth of what I say; as I do in what follows.

I am charged, in the Report, with directing the intercepted correspondence, there ascribed to Mr. Kelly and Mr. Carte. But I solemnly declare, that I never directed or saw a single line of any one of their letters, till I met them in print; nor were the contents of any one of them ever communicated to me.

I do in like manner solemnly declare, that I never was privy to any memorial drawn up to solicit the Regent of France, or his Ministers, to send forces into England, during the elections, or at any other season; which is the first branch of the conspiracy charged in the Report.

Nor was I ever acquainted with the design of any attempt to be made, upon the King's going to Hanover; which is the second.

Nor did I ever hear of the third; which, it seems was to take place upon the breaking up of the encampment, till some time after Mr. Layer was committed to the Tower.

I do with the like seriousness and solemnity declare, That I never collected, remitted, received, or asked any money of any man, to facilitate any of these designs; nor was I ever privy to any remittance whatsoever to any of these purposes.

That I never transmitted or drew any declaration, manifesto, or paper whatsoever, in the name of the Pretender, as is intimated in the Report, p. 46; and was directly charged upon me at my examination.

And that I never knew of any preparations, commissions issued, any provisions here made of arms, officers, or soldiers, or of any methods taken to procure an insurrection in any part of these kingdoms.

All this, upon the faith of a Christian, I declare to be true, and will so declare to the last gasp of my breath: and I am very sure that the farther your Lordships examine into the truth of these declarations, the truer you will find them. And yet they contain all the capital articles of which I am accused by the Report of the House of Commons.

Had indeed the charge been as fully proved as it is strongly asserted, it had been in vain to think of encountering well-attested facts by protestation to the contrary, though never so solemnly made. But, as that charge is enforced by flights and probabilities, and cannot be disproved in many circumstances without proving a negative, your Lordships will, in such a case, allow the

solemn asseverations of a man in behalf of his own innocence to have their due weight. And I ask no more of God than to grant them as much influence with you as they have truth in themselves.

If, after all, it shall be still thought by your Lordships that there is any seeming strength in any of the proofs produced against me; if by private persuasions of my guilt, founded on unseen, unknown motives, which ought not certainly to influence public judgements; if by any reasons and necessities of state (of the expedience, wisdom, and justice of which I am no competent judge) your Lordships shall be induced to proceed on this bill, and to pass it in any shape; I shall dispose myself quietly and patiently to submit to what is determined. “God’s
“will be done! Naked came I out of my mother’s
“womb, and naked shall I return thither; the Lord
“gave, and the Lord hath taken away; and (whether
“in giving or taking) blessed be the name of the
“Lord!”

* * * “Whereas there is this day published a pamphlet, intituled, ‘The Speech of Francis late Lord Bishop of Rochester, at the bar of the House of Lords, on Saturday the 11th of May, 1723, in his defence against the bill then depending for inflicting pains and penalties upon him. Printed for A. Moore near St. Paul’s.’ This is to give notice, that the same is surreptitiously printed, without the knowledge or consent of the Bishop, or any of his friends; and besides that it is spurious, it is very imperfect; several entire paragraphs being omitted, and many others vilely mangled; as any person that heard his Lordship speak will readily observe. But the publick may, in due time, expect an authentic and correct copy of his Lordship’s speech, and of the proceedings against him.” True Briton, June 24, 1723.

XXVI. SERJEANT WYNNE'S OBSERVATIONS
ON THE CATALOGUE OF ROYAL AND
NOBLE AUTHORS, Vol. II. p. 133. *

I HAVE lately seen a passage † in the above book reflecting on Serjeant Wynne, as if “ he had de-
“ fired to see the Speech of his right reverend Client, and
“ had, as it were, forestalled him, and spoke the sub-
“ stance of it himself;” and to make it the more re-
markable, the Author has given him a title, which it
is well known he did not attain to till many years after.
And this is asserted, not upon hearsay or information,
but as a fact; which the Reader may be apt to think
lay in the Author's own knowledge, or at least grounded
upon the best information at the time; whereas this
proceeding was thirty-six years ago ‡, when the Author
had been hardly out of his nursery. In speaking of
facts so long before their own knowledge, modest Wri-

* These Observations were written not long after the publi-
cation of the Catalogue, a friend informing the Author of
them that there was such a passage reflecting on him; and it
was not without solicitations that he was induced to think it
worth an answer; which, however, he drew up in this form,
and permitted to be printed in a periodical examination of
books and pamphlets. The same passage being repeated in a
second edition of the Catalogue, was the occasion of re-print-
ing these Observations. WYNNE. † See p. 444.

‡ In the North cloister of Westminster Abbey is an ele-
gant mural monument to the memory of Serjeant Wynne,
who died May 26, 1765, aged 72 years and 10 months.
Mr. Wynne was, therefore, 30 years old in 1723. He left
one son, Edward Wynne Esq. of Chelsea, barrister at law,
who died Jan. 27, 1785; and a daughter, married to Cap-
tain Piercy of Canterbury, who distinguished himself in the
engagement with Paul Jones. See the Illustrations at the end
of this volume, N° I.

ters usually quote their authority, or assign some reasons for their assertions.

However, as silence may in some cases be construed an admission of a fact, it may be proper to say something by way of answer; though Mr. Wynne despises the calumny, and thinks a mere denial of a fact is equivalent to a mere affirmation without any proof or probability.

The passage above referred to seems to imply an uncommon memory and some degree of judgement in Mr. Wynne (young as he then was, though I dare say the Author intended no compliments); that on the bare seeing or reading a Speech which took up two hours or more in the delivery, he should be able to borrow the substance of it, and make use of it as his own; which seems highly improbable.

And that he should presume to do so in the presence of such a judicious Client, and upon his first appearance at the bar of that honourable House, is still more improbable, and implies an uncommon assurance; a quality, that was never reckoned any part of his character; but on the contrary, how well it was received by that honourable House, how gratefully by his reverend Client, he has great reason to remember.

And whoever fairly considers the nature of the case, the different situation of a Counsel from that of the person accused, if he is a judge and judges rightly, must own that it requires a different composition, a different expression, and a different manner of treating the subject. Many things may be proper, and not unbecoming for the one to say, either as he was a Prelate and a Member of that House, or as a supposed Criminal, which would be highly improper and perhaps not safe
in

in the other to say. The one was thoroughly acquainted with the facts, and consequently could explain, assert, or deny, with more freedom and assurance : whereas the other was a stranger to them any otherwise than as instructed by his brief, and ought therefore to speak with caution and care, especially on such an high and complicated charge as that was ; and where Mr. Wynne was in a manner little known to or acquainted with his Client, till just before he had the honour to be assigned one of his Counsel.

It is not improbable that where any two, three, or more persons speak upon the same subject, and upon such a multitude of facts of which the charge consisted, that some of the same arguments or observations may occur to each, though without any privy or conference together. But I am apt to think no one person, who was to prepare himself upon such an occasion, would desire to see or read the composition of another who was to speak upon the same occasion, and perhaps on the same day or the next, and before the same judicious audience ; as it would rather tend to distract and confound him than be of any real use, and only serve to tire his judges with unnecessary repetition.

Indeed I have heard that the Bishop desired to know of his Counsel, at one of their consultations, whether, in treating of hearsay evidence, they should mention the preamble of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder ; and Mr. Wynne informing his Lordship the passage had occurred to him, and in what manner he intended to apply it, the Bishop desired him to leave out what he intended upon that point, for that he should carry his reasoning
upon

upon it much farther; and that it would moreover be of great service, in giving him an opportunity to sit down and repose his wearied limbs while the act was read, in which he hoped their Lordships would indulge him. Mr. Wynne accordingly left this passage entire to his Lordship; and he made all the use intended of it.

And since the sight of the book above referred to, I have heard * Mr. Wynne often declare (and I dare say, from his known probity and veracity, he would make oath if the occasion required it) that he never did see, or desired to see, his Lordship's speech; nor ever read one line of it himself, nor ever heard one line of it read by any other person before it was spoken in the House of Lords. Nor has he to this day ever seen or read one line of it; though there is reason to believe his Lordship's speech is still in being, with an introductory account of the true grounds and motives of his prosecution; and, if they could be compared, would be found as different as could be upon the same subject.

As for his Lordship's speech, so called, printed by A. Moore at that time †, it is a spurious incorrect composition, and does not contain above half in quantity; and, besides many nonsensical and unintelligible paragraphs, has hardly one true and correct passage throughout ‡. But if even that were to be compared, no other likeness would be found than what necessarily arises from a reference to the same facts, papers, and let-

* These Observations were first published anonymously.

† See p. 432.

‡ This assertion is an ample confirmation of what had been said in a note, p. 383.

ters. And I am sure, where it occasionally mentions his Counsel, it is with all due regard, and not the least complaint of any unfair or unbecoming behaviour of them*.

And it is well known Mr. Wynne never was alone with the Bishop during his commitment; and when sent for, was either in company with Sir Constantine Phipps his other Counsel, and with one or both his Solicitors, who were assigned to assist him in his defence, and one or more of his servants; and therefore some other person must have been privy to this fact, if it were true; besides others who narrowly watched and probably overheard most things that passed in those short interviews.

And therefore, what could induce the Author to vent such a calumny upon one who is a mere stranger to him, and about a transaction thirty-six years ago, in which he acted only as Counsel, without any ground or foundation, and against all probability, it is hard to conceive. But it is hoped the Author will be so ingenuous as either to retract his assertion, or assign his reasons, or explain his meaning, in any future edition of his work, or in any other way he thinks more proper.

I was going to close these Observations; but as the Author has thought fit to introduce the foregoing passage in his anecdote of an unfortunate Duke †, I am apt to think

* See pp. 384, 387, 407.

† The passage alluded to in the Catalogue is this: "It is a remarkable anecdote relating to this Speech, that his Grace then in opposition to the Court went to Chelsea the day before the last debate on that Prelate's affair, where, acting
"con-

think he is in that respect also mistaken or misinformed. I would not be understood to defend his levities, or want of principles (as the Author calls them); but happening to know the company his Lordship had with him almost every hour of that day before he spoke in the House of Lords, and to whom he was pleased to shew his Speech ready drawn up, all in his own hand writing, whom he pressed to peruse it, and during that conversation his Grace altered and supplied it as he thought proper upon the spot, and I believe is the same in substance as that which soon after appeared in print*; and, notwithstanding the Author's insinuation, I believe I can truly add, that he hardly ever passed a day or evening more soberly than that; and happy it would have been had he passed more in the same manner.

So

“contrition, he professed being determined to work out his
“pardon at Court, by speaking against the Bishop, in order
“to which he begged some hints. The Minister was deceived,
“and went through the whole cause with him, pointing out
“where the strength of the argument lay, and where its
“weakness. The Duke was very thankful, returned to town,
“passed the night in drinking, and without going to bed went
“into the House of Lords, where he spoke for the Bishop,
“recapitulating in the most masterly manner, and answering
“all that had been urged against him.”—So far the Catalogue:
and then, on a supposed resemblance to this supposed fact, is
grounded a note, contradicting the idle aspersion which is
the subject of the above Observations; which note runs in
these words: “Serjeant Wynne served the Bishop in much
“the same manner: being his Counsel, he desired to see the
“Bishop's Speech; and then spoke the substance of it him-
“self.” WYNNE.

* The Duke of Wharton, in a long speech, with a great deal of skill, judgement, and oratory, summed up the whole evidence that had been produced against the Bishop of Rochester, and endeavoured to shew the insufficiency of it,

So that this was not a sudden start upon conference that day or night with the Minister, under a feigned contrition, to draw hints from him, which he did not want; for, it is well known, his Grace had, from the beginning to the end of that long proceeding, constantly attended, and took notes, amounting at least to a quire of paper, and not only spoke on behalf of the Bishop in the run of the cause, but had signed several protests concerning those proceedings many days before. If the Minister after this was deceived, he was easily deceived, and contrary to his known and usual sagacity, and in a manner very notorious to most others.

This does not rest merely upon my assertion (though I was present every day, and therefore no incompetent witness); but I might appeal to others still alive, and to the Journals themselves, as well as to the printed protests (in folio and octavo) where his Grace's name is to be found among other noble Lords, on May 2, 1723; and on the 3d, 7th, and 11th of May. And at last, on the general question whether the bill should pass (15th of May) after he had spoke at large upon the debate, he not only protested again, for some of the reasons given by the other Lords, but added four more of his own. So that there seems to be no room to doubt but that his Lordship was all along as much prepared, fixed, and determined, upon this matter, as any one could

to prove the charge: concluding, "that let the consequences be what they would, he would not have such a hellish stain fall on the lustre and glory of that illustrious House, as to condemn a man without the least legal evidence;" and so he was for rejecting the bill. His Grace was strongly supported by the Lord Bathurst. Political State, vol. XXV. p. 663.

be *. Whether he was right or wrong in his judgement, I do not presume to say.

It is not improbable but he might go to the Minister at some other time, as he did once or twice dine uninvited at the Board of Green-cloth that was kept in the neighbourhood during that proceeding, by way of frolick or fun, or, as the Author calls it, a fit of levity; but not by way of information or instruction, or to beg hints, because he was sufficiently master of the whole proceeding, from his own notes and observations. However, he is gone, and unable to answer for himself; and therefore I thought this little was in justice due to his memory.

* “ In this debate the Duke of Wharton exerted himself greatly, summed up the evidence in a masterly manner, and made one of the best and ablest speeches against the bill ever delivered, which he caused to be printed, and entered a larger and more particular protest, dissentient for the same reasons as other Lords, and for other reasons additional. Hereby he verified in some measure what his father, the old Marquis, had, in his anger, predicted of him, that he would always take wrong causes, would learn his politicks of Atterbury, and be ruined.” Bp. NEWTON. Dr. MATY also, in his life of Lord Cheilertield, has transcribed from Mr. Walpole “ a fact, of which,” as he well observes, “ the ingenious Author had the best opportunity of being well informed; and, enumerating the great characters in which the Upper House of Parliament was then fertile, says, “ The unprincipled and unthinking Duke of Wharton disgraced the finest parts and best education by the bad use he made of both; and, with the capacity of a Tully, became, like a Clodius, a profligate and wretched incendiary.”

XXVII. SPECIMEN OF BP. ATTERBURY'S
REMARKS ON DACIER'S HORACE *.

Sat. I. 20. *Quin illis Jupiter ambas.*] Alluding to the fable of the Frogs desiring a king from Jupiter.

120. *Jam satis est.*] This turn arose naturally from what was just before said, *Cedat, uti conviva satur.*

II. 1. *Ambubaiarum.*] אַמְבֻּבַּיָּאֵרִים Vid. Grotium in Gen. iv. 21.

III. 1. *Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus.*] I am at a loss to know Horace's design in this introduction, unless he intended it as an excuse for himself [who was *Cantor*, as much as *Tigellius*], in not complying with some request of Mæcenas, and loading him with verses: for, as I remember, there are in this book no less than four Satires

* This is one of the "French Authors" with whose labours our learned Prelate amused himself during his exile. These "few criticisms," as they are styled by Bishop Newton (see p. 422.), will perhaps suggest a wish that he had written more. The edition of Dacier from which I transcribe them is that of 1691, in ten volumes, 12mo; of which (I am sorry to say) it is doubtful whether more than one volume remain in existence. The whole set, which was in 1762 the property of the present Dr. Atterbury, the Bishop's grandson, was by him lent to an admirable judge of their intrinsic merit—to a man whose ill-fated death the Muses have reason to deplore—the accomplished but improvident Bob Lloyd. They were his companions in "durance vile;" and after his decease, the sixth volume alone could be recovered by Dr. Atterbury; to whose indulgence my Readers owe the present extracts. Should the remaining volumes have fallen into the hands of a gentleman, this note will not have been written in vain.

directly

directly addressed to him. It appears from the 12th Epode that Horace had been asked by Mæcenæ to compose some Iambic verses, which he delayed long to do; and, as Dacier supposes, never did.

3. *Sardus habebat ille Tigellius hoc.*] “C’ est le ce-
 “ lebre Tigellius Sardus, dont il a été parlé dans la
 “ Satire precedente, & qu’on a confondu mal à propos
 “ avec Hermogene Tigellius, dont il est parle dans la
 “ suite.” DACIER.—Quere: for I think they are
 the *same*; his arguments from their being alive in some
 Satires, and dead in others, is not conclusive.

4. *Cæsar.*] Cui “familiarissimus” dicitur a Cicerone,
 1 Ep. xxi. 7. i. e. to Julius Cæsar.

7. *Io Bacche.*] “C’étoit le commencement d’une
 “ chanson.” DACIER.—I believe so; else Horace
 would have said *Io Pean*, for the measure’s sake.

9. *Nil æquale homini fuit illi* *.] I should be of his
 mind, but that the very thing is said by him ver. 19,

“Nil fuit unquam tam dispar sibi.”

11. *Junonis, &c.*] *Currebat* must be repeated here,
 where it is very improper. It is more defensible in that
 other place, “Atqui si noles sanus, *curres* hydro-
 “picus—”

29. *Fracundior.*] Horace and Virgil both inclined to
anger.

44. *Strabonem, &c.*] This reflection is taken from
 Lucretius.

97. *Quum ventum ad verum est.*] When they bring
 down their speculations to *practice*.

* Col. Codrington. ATTERBURY.

111. *Jura inventa metu injusti.*] Hæc è Cic. de Off. l. ii. § 12. “Justitiæ fruendæ olim videntur bene morati reges constituti.—Eademque constituendarum legum fuit causa, quæ regum. Jus enim semper quæsitum est æquabile, neque enim aliter esse jus, id si ab uno justo & bono viro consequerentur, eo erant contenti. Cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventæ quæ cum omnibus semper una atque eadem voce loquuntur,” &c.

IV. 3. *malus.*] A common cheat, or *rogue*. It must have a distinct sense from the words which follow.

6. *Hosce sequutus, &c.*] He imitated them in this manner of reflection, but altered his numbers. He was like them in his urbanity, and in his neglect to publish what he had written. There is an opposition between the several parts of this character. The first refers to those Comedians; the second to Lucilius, when he differed from them.

7. *Facetus.*] “*Facetus est qui facit verbis quid vult.*” Donat. *Heautont. Act. iii. Sc. 1.*

8. *durus componere versus*] ut *componere comas*, Ovid. *Componere*, fortè polire. Sequitur enim, “*Nam fuit hoc vitiosus, in horâ,*” &c. But then he says the same thing twice of him: for it afterwards follows, “*piger scribendi ferre laborem.*” However these two may be distinguished.

11. *Erat quod tollere velles*] “*Tollere* ne signifie pas “*rejeter*, mais, au contraire, *relever*, *prendre*, *choisir* “*pour s’en servir*: & il est opposé à *relinquere*.” DACIER.—This, I think, is a very false interpretation, as appears from comparing the two parallel places.

23. *ob hanc rem.*] Quere, whether Crispinus doth not mean here again to speak, and Horace to answer him again at the 38th verse; where first he lays down a reason why he doth not recite his verses publicly, as, &c. because he is no *Poet* properly so called?

29. *ad eum quo vespertina tepet regio*] A very improper periphrasis.

40. *Excerptam numero, &c.*] Horace had not at this time written, or not published any of his Odes.

43. *Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divini.*] Virgil.

“—at ingenium ingens

“Inculto latet hoc sub pectore—”

he says of Virgil in the foregoing Satire.

45. *Idcirco quidam Comædia, &c.*] Horace's *Sermones* therefore are an imitation of the old comedy. He professes to imitate those whom he mentions ver. 1.

“Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque—.”

“Hinc” totus “pendet” Horatius æque ac “Lucilius.”

—When he retired therefore into the country to write his Satires, he tells you the books he took with him; Menander, Eupolis, Plato, Archilochus.

48. *At pater ardens sævit.*] Horace chooses, here and in other places, rather to quote Terence than any other Comedian. He quotes Plautus sometimes, in order to shew his faults. [“Aspice quo Plautus tutetur
“ephebi;” and “Plautinos & numeros &—nimium
“patientur utrumque.”] But he never once reflects on Terence.

54. *puris.*] This is, in Horace's opinion, the proper character of Terence—*purity of style*, “dictus sermo,”

as Cæsar speaks. Terence, in his *Heautontimor*, ascribes this excellence to himself:

“ In hâc est *pura oratio*.”

59. *præponens ultima primis*.] Abundant hæc verba.

64. *Nunc*, &c.] Now he comes to the second point, the offence his writings give.

70. *Non ego*, &c.] i. e. “ Et non ego,” &c. These two verses are one continued sentence.

105. *hoc me*.] There is a stop at the end of this verse. *Ut fugerem* belongs to that which follows.

117. *Traditum ab antiquis morem*.] This relates to the old manner of educating youth among the Romans.

122. *Ut facerem quid, habes auctorem quo facias hoc*,

Unum ex iudicibus selectis, objiciebat.] This is the true way of pointing these two verses—*Objiciebat*, i. e. *aiebat*,—unless the second verse may be supposed to be included in a parenthesis.

132. *Longa ætas*.] “ Ce passage prouve qu’ Horace étoit jeune, quand il fit cette Satire.” DACIER.—No! but it proves that he was *not old*.

V. 25. *repimus*.] Meritò *Repsimus*; quoniam illis temporibus adhuc Tarracinensis urbs in altissimo monte erat; inde postea in ægriorem locum deposita erat, &c. &c. Porphyrio. Vide Manut. in Cic. Ep. 23. L. vii. ad Fam. Ita Theocr. Idyll. 8.

Εἰς ὅρος οὐχ’ ἐπρείς.

26. *Anxur*.] *Anxur* the old name given it by the Volsci; *Tarracina* the new; a word “ quod versu dicere non est,” as Horace says afterwards, ver. 87, of *Equotuticum*. Besides, that he affects an old name, as giving something of grace and majesty to his verse.

38. *Murena.*] “Frere de Licinia.” DACIER.—Might not Mæcenas here first see Licinia, whom he afterwards married?

40. *Plotius & Varius—Virgiliusque.*] See 1 Sat. x. 21. These three (who were intimate friends) came together to meet Mæcenas, &c. Horace set out from Rome, accompanied only by Heliodorus.

48. *Dormitum ego, Virgiliusque.*] “Imbecilles—quo
“in numero magna pars urbanorum omnesque penè li-
“terarum cupidi sunt,” &c. L. i. c. 2.—“Ex his qui
“benè concoxit, tutè manè surget; qui parùm, quies-
“cere debet, &c. si manè necessitas surgendi fuerit,
“redormit. Qui non concoxit, ex toto conquiescere,
“neque labori se neque exercitationi neque negotio
“credere.” Ibid.

49. *Namque pila lippis inimicum & ludere crudis.*] Mallem, “Namque pilâ & lippis inimicum & ludere—”

94. *longum carpentes iter.*] *Carpere* therefore implies somewhat of *speed* in travelling; whereas, when they made a *short* stage and travelled slowly, he useth the word *Repimus*.—“Millia tum pransi tria repimus.”

104. *Brundisium.*] Virgil died at this place twenty-two years afterwards.

VI. 20. *Censorque moveret Appius.*] “C’est Appius
“Claudius Cæcus, qui fut créé Censeur l’an de Rome
“443.” DACIER.—Therefore Horace’s names often employed against the rules of chronology; for he speaks of this Appius as the present censor, but means only a censor in general.

45.—*libertino patre natum.*]

Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum.

49. *Diffimile, &c.*] He seems here frankly to own himself *not fit* for the military post Brutus had fastened on him. But he thinks it a compliment to Mæcenas, to affirm himself capable of that friendship with which he had honoured him.

50. —*ita te quoque amicum;*

Præsertim cautum dignos assumere. Pravâ

Ambitione procul, felicem dicere, &c.] So these lines should be pointed; as, “*Ambitione relegata, te “dicere possum, Pollio,” &c.*

54. *Optimus olim Virgilius, &c.*] The treaty of Brundisium (Horace’s journey to which is described Sat. V.) was the very year after the *divisio agrorum* made by the triumvirate, wherein Virgil lost his patrimony (see the chronology of his life), and recovered it by an application to Augustus, whom he then first saw (as he tells us, Ecl. I.). His acquaintance with Mæcenas was not much (if at all) earlier: and yet we find Horace, by Virgil’s recommendation, in the intimacy of Mæcenas, and attending him and the rest of his friends at the Brundisian treaty the year afterwards, and speaking of them with such a degree of familiarity as though he had been some time acquainted with them. Nine months had intervened between his first recommendation by Virgil, and his admission to Mæcenas’s acquaintance: after this, some time must be allowed to improve that acquaintance, before he could be admitted to make one in the Brundisian journey: Virgil, therefore, must have recommended him to Mæcenas as soon almost as he was known to Mæcenas himself. Virgil’s recommendation to Mæcenas was probably by Pollio, his first great patron,
and

and whom he praises so much and often in his Eclogues, where he never once mentions Mæcenas. To Pollio he might be known, A. U. C. 713. when he was in Gallia Cisalpana and the territory of Venice with an army, to which territory Mantua belonged; and to Pollio he might be recommended by Varius, or Cornelius Gallus, who appears from Tully's Epistles to have been intimate with Pollio before this time. See Ep. Fam. L. x. 32.

104. *usque Tarentum.*] Whither he travelled often to spend his winters.

130. *Victurus suavius.*] *Convictor* enim Mæcenatis.

131. *Fuissent.*] *Fuisset* reponit Bentleius—nec fortasse errat, cum MSS. librorum auctoritatem sequatur.—Fallitur autem omnino, cum emendationem suam hoc argumento tueatur; “Noster enim pluribus licet Nomina-
“tivis, modo ultimus sit numero singulari, etiam verbum
“eodem numero semper subnectit—” Oblitus scil. versuum qui in hac ipsâ Satyrâ occurrunt—

“——Optimus olim

“*Virgilius*, post hunc *Varius*, dixere quod essem.”

Consule etiam notas Bentleianas ad Carmen 24. Lib. I. quæ his verbis finiantur: “videbitque [Lector] vix
“unquam aliter extare apud nostrum, nisi forte cum
“locus est mendosus—”

“Plotius, & Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque

“Occurrunt—” 1 Sat. v. 40.

“Quin, ubi se à vulgo & scenâ, in secreta remorant

“Virtus Scipiadæ & mitis sapientia Læli—”

2 Sat. i. 71.

“Cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum

“Mane domum veniant.”

2 Sat. iii. 229.

[Seven singular nominatives with a plural verb.]

"Romulus, & Liber pater, &c.

"*Ploravere* suis, &c."

2 Ep. i. 5.

"Quid Sophocles, & Thespis, & Æschylus utile
"ferrent."

Ep. i. 163.

"Quâ pinus ingens, albaque populus

"Umbram hospitalem consociare *amant*."

2 Carm. iii. 10.

"——tum violaria, &

"Myrtus, & omnis copia narium,

"*Spargent*, &c." 2 Carm. xv. 5.

[Vid. & 1 Carm. xiii. 5.]

VII. This Satire seems part of a larger copy of verses made at this time; which, being written whilst Horace was in another party, he durst not now publish.

"Horace la fit, sans doute, ou pendant qu'il étoit
"encore à l'armée, ou peu de temps après son retour."
DACIER.—If he made it then, he must have retouched it afterwards, if what Dacier himself tells us be true, that *Bitbus* and *Bacchius*, mentioned in this Satire, were two gladiators in Augustus's time.

20. *Compositus*, &c.] *Gladiatorum compositiones*."

Cic. Ep. II. 8. "Gladiatores sub eodem magistro erudi
"diti inter se componuntur." Quintil. l. II. c. 17.

VIII. 16. *Albis*, &c.] *Albentes ossibus agros* Virg. ut puto.

39. *Furque Voranus*.] *Verres* is never mentioned in Horace's Satires, though many proper occasions occur. Juvenal afterwards makes free with him. But in the Court of Augustus, nothing was to be said which could reflect honour on the memory of Tully.

IX. 50. *unquam*.] “*inquam*,” says Bentley, “is according to the reading of most MSS. and is more elegant in itself.” I deny it : for *inquam* is improperly interposed in the *middle* of Horace’s answer ; the only *proper* place for it would have been at the beginning ; “Non isto vivimus, *inquam*.”

X. 1. *In composito, dixi, pede*.] Non-laboratum ad pedem.

3. *Sale—defricuit*.] A metaphor from *salt*ing meat.

6. *Laberî Mimos*.] “Si Jule Scaliger avoit bien compris la pensée d’Horace, il n’auroit pas condamné le jugement qu’il fait ici des Mimes de Laberius ;” DACIER ;—which seems to agree with Tully’s, where he says, “Equidem sic obdurus, ut ludis Cæsaris nostri æquissimo animo viderem T. Plancum, audirem *Laberii* & Publii poemata,” Lib. XII. Ep. 18 ; though I know these words may be understood as referring rather to the *matter* of Laberius’s Mimes, which was written to be sure on Cæsar’s side (whose creature Laberius was), than to the *manner* of his writing.

14. *Ridiculum acri*] “Ridicule—decide—beaucoup mieux & plus fortement que les raisonnemens.” DACIER.—*Acri* doth not signify reasoning, but *sharpness*.

18. *Hermogenes*.] Invisus etiam Cicero in hic Hermog. ut liquet ex Ep. 24. l. VII. & ad Att. 49. l. XIII.

19. *Nil præter Calvum & doctus cantare Catullum*.] “Leurs vers étoient des vers d’amour.” DACIER. Not Calvus’s, but rather lampoons.

“Il [Horace] a heureusement imité cet endroit des Tusculanes de Cicéron, *O Poetam egregium ! Quam*
VOL. IV. H h “*quam*

“*quam ab his Cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur.*”—

Because of the word *Cantor* in that passage.

These two Poets Calvus and Catullus were friends of Cæsar, and therefore Horace mentions them so slightly. Catullus was an intimate of Cornelius Nepos. Calvus wrote scandalous lampoons upon Cæsar, as Suetonius informs us. Tully himself before that was libelled by him; and calls these verses “*Hipponacteum præcensum.*” Ep. 24. L. VII.—Cicero, L. XV. Ep. ult. excuses himself to Trebonius for having spoken too well of Calvus’s orations, and gives there a character of his manner of writing.

31. *ego cum Græcos facerem.*] When at *Athens* perhaps.

37. *Diffingit, &c.*] These seem to be the words of *Alpinus*.

44. *Ductu molle atque facetum.*] Servius, upon Ecl. ix. 35. seems to suppose this whole verse to be meant of Varius, and the next only to belong to Virgil, as if they were originally thus distinguished—

——“*forte epos acer*——

“*Ut nemo Varius ducit, molle atque facetum:*

“*Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camcenæ.*”

But he is certainly mistaken.

Ibid. *molle atque facetum.*] Vide ver. 58. “*magis feclos et euntes mollius*”—

46. *experto frustra Varrone Atacino.*] He had now written many odes.

62. *Quale fuit Cassi, &c.*] *Opuscula*, therefore, when applied by Horace (1 Ep. IV. 3.) to Cassius’s writings, an ironic word:

“*Scri-*

“Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat.”

81. *Plotius et Varius*. These two, first named here by Horace, were the persons to whom Virgil left the correction of his *Æneid*. They are named also in this order, together with Virgil, 1 Sat. V. 40.

92. *I puer, atque meo citus hæc subscribe libello.*] This is the reason of placing this Satire at the end of the first book.



ILLUSTRATIONS.

Nº I.

P. 440. In the North cloyster of Westminster Abbey are these inscriptions.

I.

“ To the Memory of OWEN WYNNE,
of Gwynfynydd in the County of Anglesey,
and late of this Parish—Doctor of Laws,
Warden of the Mint to King James II.
and for many years Under Secretary of State ;
A person, both in his public and private station,
Of unblemished virtue and integrity.
He married Dorothy the daughter of
Francis Luttrell, of Grays Inn, Esq.
By whom he had seven Children ;
and died in the year 1700 ; and lies buried,
with two of his Children, in the
North aisle of St. Margaret's Church,
Leaving a loving and sorrowful *Widow in deed*,
Who persevered in that state,
in a devout and irreproachable conversation,
and in a strict imitation of her Husband's virtues,
being as it were a Mother to many others
besides her own children,
She died May 24, 1724, aged 65 ; and lies
buried underneath this place.

II.

“ Near this place
are deposited the remains
Of WILLIAM WYNNE, Esq. Serjeant at Law,
Who died May 16, 1765, aged 72 years and 10 months.
He was the son of Owen Wynne, Esq. Doctor of the Civil
Law ;

Sometime Under Secretary of State to their Majesties
King Charles the Second and King James the Second,
By Dorothy his Wife (who lies near this place)
Sister of Narcissus Luttrell, Esq. of Little Chelsea.
September 30, 1728, he married Grace, one of the daughters
Of William Brydges, Esq. Serjeant at Law ;
By whom he had six Sons and two Daughters ;
Three of whom, Susanna, Edward, and Luttrell,
with his affectionate Widow, survived him.
He was very early distinguished, by his abilities in his pro-
fession ;

And, throughout his life, by every virtue
That becomes the Christian and the Gentleman.
But, Reader, as even the appearance of Flattery
Ill becomes a place sacred to Truth,
Those who knew him best will be content to say,
That they found him, in every Relation of Life,
One of the best of Men.

Underneath the same stone are deposited the remains
Of Mrs. Grace Wynne, his affectionate Widow ;
Who died November 20, 1779, aged 79 years ;
Whose death was the more sensibly felt, as
She had lived an excellent example
To her Family and Friends.

In the same place are deposited the remains of
their eldest son EDWARD WYNNE, Esq. Barrister at Law.
Whose piety, learning, and liberality, were accompanied by
a modesty
Which enhanced the value of that merit it could not always
conceal.

He died December 26, 1784, aged 50 years.”

The last mentioned Mr. Wynne died at Chelsea of a cancer
in his mouth. This gentleman's knowledge and proficiency
in polite literature could only be exceeded by his charity and
benevolence. He printed (without his name), but did not

publish, "A miscellany, containing several law tracts," 8vo. 1765; viz. 1. "Observations on Fitzherbert's *Natura Brevis*, with an introduction concerning writs, and a dissertation on the writ *De non ponendis in Affisis et Juratis*, and "on the writ *De Leproso amovendo*." 2. "An enquiry concerning the reason of the distinction the law has made in cases between things annexed to the freehold, and things severed from it." 3. "Argument in behalf of unlimited extension of collateral consanguinity, with extracts from the statutes on which the question arose." 4. "Account of the trial of the Pix *." Observations on the nature and antiquity of the court of claims." 5. "An answer to two passages in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors." 6. "Observations on the antiquity and dignity of the degree of Serjeant at Law."—The two last were by his father, who, in the former, refuted an aspersion cast on his character by Mr. Walpole †. Mr. Wynne published (anonymously also) "Eunomus, or Dialogues concerning the Law and Constitution of England. With an Essay on Dialogue," 4 vols. 8vo. 1774. In this elegant and truly Ciceronian work, Mr. Wynne with great learning and ingenuity supported the immense and complicated fabrick of the laws of his country. Dying a bachelor, his estates, together with his house at Chelsea, and his very valuable library, collected chiefly by his father and himself, devolved to his brother, the Rev. Luttrell Wynne, of All Souls college, Oxford.

To the memory of EDWARD WYNNE, Esq.

"*Talia fundebat lacrymans.*"

He, who, enraptur'd, late the Muse's choir
 Invok'd, while gratitude † attun'd his lyre,
 In chearful strains Wynne's virtues to relate,
 Ah! sad reverse! now mourns his hapless fate.
 O could I sing like her, whose polish'd lay
 With cypress-wreaths bestrew'd her § Cook's *morai*,
 'Then should my verse with vary'd softness flow,
 In all the melting energy of woe;
 Or, were my voice like her's ||, whose Doric oat
 In sweetly-warbling elegiac note,

* See this at large in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LV. p. 127.

† Reprinted in this volume, p. 440.

‡ For this we are referred to the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. LIV. but we do not recollect the particular poem alluded to.

§ Miss Seward.

|| Mrs. Sheridan.

Sung

THE FOURTH VOLUME.

463

Sung how "the waves clos'd round her brother's head,
 "And murmur'd, as they clos'd, for Lycid dead;"
 Then should Melpomene, from all her bowers,
 To deck his urn, collect her choicest flowers.
 Sad flow the strains of grief. Farewell, blest shade!
 Accept this tribute to thy memory paid.
 What though thy hearse no martial glories claim;
 "The vain parade of monumental fame*,"
 Far nobler honours grace thy tomb, for there
 Each peaceful virtue drops a grateful tear.
 Science and Art the general loss deplore,
 And mourn their friend, their patron, now no more!
 Too just their grief; for few, like Wynne, we find,
 Anxious to heal the sick or wounded mind;
 When Worth, unseen, droop'd its neglected head,
 And pin'd beneath Affliction's mildew shade;
 With tender pity glow'd his generous heart,
 Eager to sooth, and ready to impart;
 How lov'd he liv'd, how much lamented fell,
 The tears of grateful thousands best can tell.
 Such late was Wynne—to whom his God had given
 Each grace, each virtue, that exalt to Heaven;
 And with the bright example charm'd our eyes,
 "To point and lead us to his native skies." T. W.

* A line of Mrs. Carter's.

F I N I S.

